DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 151 905 95 EA 010 396

TITLE	Proceedings of National Conference on Research & Policy Implications. Lau Task Force Report. "Findings Specifying Remedies for Eliminating Past Educational Practices Ruled Unlawful Under Lau v. Nichols" (Austin, Texas, June 17-18, 1976).
INSTITUTION	Southwest Educational Development Lab., Austin, Tex.
SPONS AGENCY	National Inst. of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	[77]
CONTRACT	400-76-0051
NOTE	315p.; Pages 144-155 and 227-232 may be marginally legible
AVAILABLE FROM	Office of Communications, Southwest Educational Development Laboratory, 211 East 7th Street, Austin, Texas 78701 (free)
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.83 Plus Postage. HC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Academic Achievement; *Bilingual Education; *Conference Reports; Cultural Awareness; Educational Policy; Educational Research; Elementary Secondary Education; *Intercultural Programs; Models; Program Development; School Law; Second Language Learning; *Supreme Court Litigation
IDENTIFIERS	*Lau v Nichols

ABSTRACT

This publication presents the proceedings of a national conference on the research and policy implications of the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in Lau v. Nichols that was held in Austin, Texas, June 17-18, 1976. The conference was designed around eight panel discussions that focused on the following topics: 1) analysis of performance variables affecting use of dominant language in bilingual settings, 2) review of research on culturally based learning behaviors, 3) analysis of the nature and importance of culturally responsive programs, 4) analysis of the dynamics of first and second language acquisition in the context of general cognitive development, 5) review of current bilingual/multicultural programs and models, 6) analysis of culturally based process variables, 7) discussion of potential administrative problems and solutions in implementing bilingual/multicultural programs, and 8) review of statutory and judicial bases for bilingual program implementation. The report is divided into separate sections for each panel discussion. Each panel report begins by identifying the panel participants, then presents in turn the text of the investigators' papers, excerpts from the discussants' remarks, and a brief synopsis of the floor discussion. (Author/JG)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED151905

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH.
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

PROCEEDINGS OF

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON RESEARCH & POLICY IMPLICATIONS

LAU TASK FORCE REPORT

"Findings Specifying Remedies for Eliminating Past Educational Practices Ruled Unlawful Under LAU v. Nichols"

Produced by
Southwest Educational Development Laboratory

under contract with
The National Institute of Education

held
June 17-18, 1976

Southwest Tower Building
211 East Seventh Street
Austin, Texas 78701

EA 010 396

This publication was printed by the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory pursuant to Contract No. 400-76-0051, with the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Institute of Education. The opinions expressed in the Proceedings do not necessarily reflect the position or policy of the National Institute of Education or the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory, and no official endorsement by either should be inferred.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

1. Background 1

2. Project Management 2

3. Subject of Conference 3

4. Organization and Date of Conference 4

5. The Principal Investigators (by Panel) 6

6. Format for Report of Conference Proceedings 7

PROCEEDINGS OF THE LAU CONFERENCE

PANEL I: Introductory Statement 9

"Culturally Responsive Education, a Response to Lau Guidelines II" - Dr. Courtney B. Cazden 10

Excerpts from Discussants' Remarks 56

Synopsis of Floor Discussion 57

PANEL II: Introductory Statement 58

Part 1: "The Sociocultural Context in Education" - Dr. Luis Laosa 59

Part 2: "Culturally Responsive Early Childhood Programs for Non-English Speaking Children" - Dr. Theresa Escobedo . . . 74

Excerpts from Discussants' Remarks 102

Synopsis of Floor Discussion 103

PANEL III: Introductory Statement 104

Part 1: "Analysis of Bilingual/Bicultural/Biliterate Curriculum Development in Connection with Equal Educational Opportunity in Title VI" - Dr. John Young 105

Part 2: "Who Benefits from Bilingual Education on the Rocky Boy Reservation" - Ms. Helen Parker 156

Excerpts from Discussants' Remarks 175

Synopsis of Floor Discussion 176

PANEL IV: Introductory Statement 177

Part 1: "Teacher Behaviors and Cultural Responsiveness: Theoretical and Practical Considerations" - Dr. Robert Cervantes 178

Part 2: "Recommended Plan for the Development of a Bilingual Teacher Training Program at the Local School District" - Ms. Carmen Anna Pérez 199

Excerpts from Discussants' Remarks 212

Synopsis of Floor Discussion 212

PANEL V: Introductory Statement 214

Part 1: U.S. Office of Civil Rights (DHEW) Lau Remedies: Administrative Feedback" - Dr. John B. Lum 215

Part 2: "The Five-Way Input Requisities for Educational Programs Bilingual and Others" - Ms. María E. Torres 233

Excerpts from Discussants' Remarks 241

Synopsis of Floor Discussion 242

PANEL VI: Introductory Statement 243

"A Few Thoughts about Language Assessment: The Lau Decision Reconsidered" - Dr. Edward DeAvila and Ms. Sharon Duncan 244

Excerpts from Discussants' Remarks 269

Synopsis of Floor Discussion 270

PANEL VII: Introductory Statement 271

"The Lau Remedies: Psycholinguistic Considerations in Educational Program Selection" - Dr. Gustavo González 272

Excerpts from Discussants' Remarks 286

Synopsis of Floor Discussion 287

PANEL VIII: Introductory Statement 288

"Trends in Bilingual Education and the Law" - Mr. Herbert Teitelbaum and Mr. Richard J. Hiller 289

Excerpts from Discussants' Remarks 303

Synopsis of Floor Discussion 304

CONCLUSIONS

Summary of Conference Policy Recommendations: Do's and Don'ts . . . 306

Summary of Research and Development Needs 308

INTRODUCTION

1. Background

On December 18, 1975, the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory (SEDL), under contract to the National Institute of Education (NIE Contract 400-76-0051), commenced a project aimed at facilitating implementation of the "Lau Remedies." The Lau Remedies are the guidelines issued by the U. S. Office for Civil Rights to school districts found to be in noncompliance with the U. S. Supreme Court decision in Lau v. Nichols (414 U.S. 563, 1974).

The Lau Remedies encompass a number of procedures which school districts must follow in order to comply with the Lau decision. Those procedures concern the diagnosis of instructional needs and the selection of appropriate educational programs for minority-language school children of limited English-speaking ability.

The capacity of school districts to implement the Lau Remedies was found to be limited by insufficient knowledge of research data potentially useful to such an effort. Accordingly, NIE contracted with SEDL to conduct a national conference of researchers and practitioners involved in the issues raised by the Lau Remedies.[1] This document is both a Final Report of SEDL's activities pursuant to the management of that conference and a publication of the conference proceedings.

---

[1] The contract actually specified two scopes of work of which the management of the conference was the first. The second, which will be reported on separately, involved the design of a research agenda to address certain specific needs emerging from sections II and V of the Lau Remedies.

2. Project Management

Dr. Domingo Domínguez, Director of SEDL's Bilingual and Migrant Division, was the Project Director. He was assisted by Ms. Rachel Ortiz as Project Coordinator, by other staff at SEDL, and by a National Advisory Board consisting of the following members:

Ms. Lucille Echohawk
Special Assistant for Indian Education
Utah State Board of Education
Salt Lake City, Utah

Dr. Salomón Flores
Director, Programs for Spanish-Speaking
Chicago State University
Chicago, Illinois

Dr. Norma Hernandez
Dean, College of Education
    Assisting: Dr. Frank Trujillo
        Assistant Professor
University of Texas at El Paso
El Paso, Texas

Mrs. Emma Jimenez Rodriguez
Principal
Ford Boulevard Elementary School
Los Angeles, California

Ms. María Ramirez
Director, Bilingual Education Office
State Education Department
Albany, New York

Mr. Billy Reagan
Superintendent
    Assisting: Ms. Victoria Bergin
        Director, Bilingual Programs
Houston Independent School District
Houston, Texas

Dr. Albert Yee
Dean of Graduate Studies & Research
University of California
Long Beach, California

The Advisory Board was closely involved in the specification of conference topics, the selection of conference participants and, as Panel Moderators, in the management of the conference itself.

3. Subject of the Conference

In their initial Request-for-Proposal (12 September 1975) NIE specified from the Lau Remedies four sections (I, II, III, V) which were in particular need of clarification and support. These sections respectively addressed the following subjects:

- Identification of students' primary language for determining whether bilingual programs are needed.
- Diagnosis of student learning behaviors and prescription of responsive instructional procedures.
- Specification of bilingual program models appropriate to the language needs and educational level of students.
- Development of personnel staffing and training procedures appropriate to the prescribed programs.

Project staff at SEDL used these subjects as the basis for the generation of specific questions to be addressed by the conference. After passing through several drafts, eight paper topics were eventually approved by the Advisory Board. Great care was given to the way in which the topics were defined, in order that they be neither too superficial to provide sufficient guidance, so datailed as to prejudice the objectivity of the investigators. It was decided that the investigators for the various topics should be specialists in the particular fields pertinent to each topic -- e.g., a Bilingual Curriculum and Instruction specialist on the subject of alternative program models. The following represents the final draft of the topic definitions keyed to appropriate specialists.

1) Sociolinguist(s): Analysis of "performance" variables affecting use of dominant language in bilingual settings; review of alternative procedures for identifying dominant language; assessment of multilingual proficiencies (OCR REPORT SECTION I).

2) Psychologist(s)/Anthropologist(s): Review of ethnographic research on culturally-based learning behaviors; identification of culturally-based variables in learning -- e.g., motivational styles, cognitive styles; if differences in cognitive style exist, how can such differences be explained in terms of a learning theory -- e.g.,, Associationist as opposed to Developmental? What is a satisfactory typology for classifying those differences -- e.g., field dependence/independence vs. differentially ordered cognitive functions? (OCR REPORT SECTION II).

3) Child Development Specialist(s): Analysis of the nature and importance of culturally responsive programs -- e.g., in terms of development of students' self concept/self esteem, motivation to succeed in educational programs, and other pertinent variables (OCR REPORT SECTION II).

4) Psycholinguist(s): Analysis of the dynamics of first and second language acquisition in the context of general cognitive development; comparative analysis of alternative program methodologies in terms of pertinent psycholinguistic variables -- e.g., the appropriate language (first or other) for particular content areas (OCR REPORT SECTION III).

5) Bilingual Curriculum & Instructional Specialist(s): Review of current bilingual/multicultural programs and models in terms of their validated success in achieving specified objectives; analysis of alternative diagnostic procedures for program prescription (OCR REPORT SECTION III).

6) Teacher Training Specialist(s): Analysis of culturally-based process variables; review of alternative preservice and inservice strategies for training cultural responsiveness; review of appropriate teacher selection models (OCR REPORT SECTION V).

7) Educational Administration Specialist(s): Discussion of potential administrative problems/solutions in implementing bilingual/multicultural programs -- e.g., curriculum integration, staffing patterns, community outreach.

8) Educational Law/Policy Specialist(s): Review of statutory and judicial bases for bilingual program implementation -- e.g., implications of the Federal District Court ruling in Otero v. Mesa County Valley School District (Colorado, 1976); review of present federal requirements and funding/information resources for program implementation.

4. Organization and Date of the Conference

The principal purpose of the conference was to bring practitioners together with researchers and specialists for, it was hoped, a fruitful exchange of information. Emerging from such an exchange would be not only the wider dissemination of knowledge and techniques to facilitate the implementation of the Lau Remedies, but also the identification of R&D needs pertinent to that implementation. Accordingly, the participant roles for the conference were defined as follows.

1) Principal Investigators -- These individuals were to conduct the research and present their findings on the topics specified above. Within the professional constraints required by the topics, an attempt was made to have strong minority representation among this group.

2) Paper Discussants -- These individuals were to evaluate the Investigators' papers and to present their critiques at the conference. Two Discussants were assigned to each topic. An attempt was made to have at least eight of the Discussants be Lau GAC-B Directors.

3) Conference Guests -- This was to be the most numerous group of individuals attending the conference. An attempt was made to include among this group representatives of OE and NIE, SEA's,LEA's, Teacher Training Institutions, R&D Institutions, and Special Interest/Advocacy Groups. A complete list of Conference Guests is available from SEDL upon request.

In order to ensure that the investigators' papers would respond to the diverse interests of all the conference participants, the following Guidelines for Papers were distributed to Investigators and Discussants.

GUIDELINES FOR PAPERS

EACH PAPER SHOULD FOLLOW, AS CLOSELY AS POSSIBLE, THE FORMAT DESCRIBED BELOW.

- Pertinent review of current and of significant past literature bearing on the topic. Where appropriate, the review should include analysis of alternative instruments, procedures, programs or materials relevant to the topic in question.

- Synthesis of research findings with respect to the topic. The synthesis should include an identification of strengths and weaknesses in our current knowledge base, and an analysis of the empirical and theoretical bases upon which current perceptions of the topic rest.

- Utilization of the research synthesis for illuminating that section of the OCR Report to which the paper is keyed. Research findings of practical application (e.g., alternative instruments, procedures, programs or materials) should be discussed in terms of variables relevant to the practitioner -- e.g., cost effectiveness, feasibility, diagnostic validity.

- Identification of research and/or development needs, should any exist, with respect to the implementation of that section of the OCR Report to which the paper is keyed. Discussion should extend to any educational issues raised by the Report which may be problematic because of insufficient knowledge. A synthesis of research and policy recommendations for direct implementation in schools and classrooms should conclude the paper.

For various reasons it became desirable to assign a team of two investigators to each of the topics numbered 3, 5, 6, 7, and 8 (see pp. 3 and 4). This means that twelve papers in all were presented, even though the scope of the conference was not expanded beyond the original eight topics.

The eight topics were addressed by eight panels meeting, sometimes concurrently, over a two-day period. The conference was held at SEDL on June 17-18, 1976.

Since the numbering of the panels (i.e., the order in which they were convened) does not correspond to the numbering of the topics presented, the following concordance of panels to topics is supplied.

PANEL	TOPIC
I	2
II	3
III	5
IV	6
V	7
VI	1
VII	4
VIII	8

5. The Principal Investigators (Listed by Panel)

PANEL

I. Dr. Courtney B. Cazden, Professor of Education, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

PANEL

II. Dr. Luis Laosa, Division of Educational Studies, Educational Testing Service, Princeton, N.J.

Dr. Theresa Escobedo, Assistant Professor, Dept. of Curriculum and Instruction, University of Texas, Austin.

III. Dr. John Young, Chairman of Asian Studies, Seton Hall University, South Orange, N.J.

Ms. Helen Parker, Director, Bilingual Program, Rocky Boy Reservation, District No. 87, Rocky Boy, MT.

IV. Dr. Robert Cervantes, Development Associates, Inc., San Antonio, TX.

Ms. Carmen Anna Perez, Director of Office of Bilingual Education, University of New York, Albany, N.Y.

V. Dr. John B. Lum, Lau Bilingual Project Head, San Francisco Unified School District, San Francisco, CA.

Ms. María E. Torres, Administrative Assistant to the President, Southmost College, Brownsville, TX.

VI. Dr. Edward de Avila, Director, Research Educational Planning, Bilingual Children's Television, Oakland, CA.

VII. Dr. Gustavo Gonzalez, Assistant Professor, Graduate School of Education, University of California, Santa Barbara, CA.

VIII. Mr. Herbert Teitelbaum, Legal Director and Mr. Richard J. Hiller, Staff Attorney, Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Educational Fund, New York, N.Y.

6. Format for the Report of the Conference Proceedings

Section II of this document contains a report of the Lau Conference proceedings. It is subdivided by panel. Each panel report is introduced with a brief note identifying the panel participants. There then follows in three separate sections the text(s) of the investigator(s)' paper(s), excerpts from the Discussants' remarks, and a brief synopsis of the floor discussion.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE LAU CONFERENCE

(Held at Austin, Texas, June 17-18, 1976)

PANEL I: Introductory Statement

Panel I addressed topic "2" (see page 4). The Principal Investigator was Dr. Courtney Cazden. Her paper was entitled "Culturally Responsive Education: a Response to the Lau Guidelines, Section II." Serving as Discussants were Dr. Manuel Ramirez, Professor of Education at the University of California, Santa Cruz, and Dr. Robert Chin, Professor of Psychology at Boston University. The panel was presided over by Dr. Albert Yee, member of the Lau Project Advisory Board. Dr. Cazden's paper is reproduced on the following pages.

CULTURALLY RESPONSIVE EDUCATION: A RESPONSE TO LAU GUIDELINES
SECTION II*

Courtney B. Cazden and Ellen L. Leggett

Harvard University

*We are grateful to the following people who responded generously to urgent requests for documents for this review: Carter Collins of NIE; Steven Diaz of the Harvard Graduate School of Education; Roger Rice of the Center for Law and Education, Harvard University; Rudolph Troike of the Center for Applied Linguistics; and Herman Witkin of the Educational Testing Service. Responsibility for the views expressed here, however, is ours alone.

CULTURALLY RESPONSIVE EDUCATION: A DISCUSSION OF LAU GUIDELINES
SECTION II

Courtney B. Cazden and Ellen L. Leggett

Harvard University

Section II of the LAU Guidelines says in part:

> The second part of a plan must describe the diagnostic/prescriptive measures to be used to identify the nature and extent of each student's educational needs and then prescribe an educational program utilizing the most effective teaching style to satisfy the diagnosed educational needs. The determination of which teaching style(s) are to be used should be based on a careful review of both the cognitive and affective domains and should include an assessment of the responsiveness of students to different types of cognitive learning styles and incentive motivational styles - E.g., competitive vs. cooperative learning patterns...

Complying with this section of the Guidelines requires a decision about what, in addition to language, must be changed in creating Bilingual/Bicultural Education (BBE). The goal is education that will be more responsive to cultural differences among children. Specifically, school systems are asked to consider cognitive and affective aspects of how different children learn so that appropriate teaching styles and learning environments can be provided that will maximize their educational achievement.

The assertion in the Guidelines that how we teach should be adapted to how children learn is supported by fundamental concepts in anthropology and psychology. In anthropology, the concept of culture includes not only language and a catalogue of visible objects and events but also the tacit knowledge that the members of any community share:

> Schools have long been aware of cultural differences, and in recent years have attempted to address them, rather than punish them. Too often the differences of which the school is aware or which even the community is aware are only the most visible, 'high' culture symbols and the most stereotyped conventions. What may be slighted is the 'invisible' culture (to use Philips' 1974 title), the culture of everyday etiquette and interaction, and its expression of rights and duties. Classrooms may be respectful of religious belief and national custom, yet profane an implicit ceremonial order having to do with relations among persons. One can honor cultural pride on the walls of a room yet inhibit learning within them (Hymes, 1976, pg. 8).

In psychology, the concept of intelligence "postulates diverse mental abilities and proposes that intelligent behavior can be manifested in a wide variety of forms, with each individual displaying certain areas of intellectual strength and other forms of intellectual weakness" (Stodolsky & Lesser, 1967, p. 562). In their widely cited article, Stodolsky and Lesser (1967) report research on ethnic differences in patterns of mental abilities among first grade children and hold out a vision of eventually being able to maximize educational achievement by matching instructional practice to such differences among children.

How far have we come toward a realization of that vision? Expansion of Guidelines II into more detailed prescriptions should ideally rest on the following knowledge:

1. That we know how to describe accurately how different individual children learn, because
    - a. There is valid research data that children from identifiable cultural groups overwhelmingly exhibit certain learning styles, or
    - b. We know how to make valid individual diagnoses of individual children in each classroom.
2. Having that information on children, by group or by individual, we know how to vary how we teach in relevant ways. That is,

a. We have a repertoire of teaching styles, and

b. We have research evidence that a match between characteristics of children and characteristics of teaching environments will significantly increase their achievement.

Educational research on these issues is called "aptitude-treatment interaction" (ATI). During the past decade, considerable research has been done in this area, and reviews of the field are available (Berliner & Cahen, 1973; Tobias, 1976). In general, Tobias speaks for the field: "The bulk of the work remains to be done, and the viability of the ATI construct for the illumination of our understanding of instructional events, as well as for advancing practice to the point where instructional prescriptions can be made, is still to be demonstrated" (1976, p. 63).

This paper reviews selected topics in this research in more detail, first in cognitive style and then in what I have termed "interactional style". In both domains, discussion is limited to dimensions of individual differences where:

1. Evidence exists that individual differences are correlated with membership in particular cultural groups;

   and

2. Suggestions have been made for how instruction might be adapted to these differences.

Where evaluation data are available on the effects of adaptations on educational achievement, they are presented. Because the paper is focused on implications for formal, school-based education, environmental antecedents of the cultural differences are not discussed. The paper makes suggestions for how school systems may comply with the Guidelines, and create more culturally responsive education in the present state of our knowledge.

At the outset, it is important to keep in mind a distinction between universal and particular goals of education. Universal goals are those we expect all children to achieve and we demand that all schools teach. Literacy and mathematical competence are certainly such universal goals, whatever else one might want to include. Particular goals, by contrast, are both more optional and more varied - skilled performance in sports or the arts, for example. This discussion of LAU Guidelines II will be limited to its application to universal goals where "the implication of recognizing individual [and cultural] differences is that different instructional strategies must be found which will optimally promote each child's achievement of basic universal skills" (Lesser, 1971, p. 33). Any complete educational program should also provide rich options for instruction toward more particular goals, but they will not be considered further here.

The paper does not discuss diagnostic/prescriptive measures themselves. But it should be noted that certain aspects of some of the management systems for diagnosing and prescribing children's educational needs, for instance in reading and mathematics, may make culturally responsive education more difficult. In particular, thoughtful attention should be given to these aspects of whatever system is used:

1. The amount of frequency of testing required;
2. The extent to which instruction is totally individualized, in the literal sense of each child working alone;
3. Cultural bias, or at best cultural meaninglessness, in the materials themselves, especially if they have been produced for a large-scale use over a wide geographic area.

Cultural Differences in Cognitive Style

The term "cognitive style" is used by psychologists to refer to "individual variation in modes of perceiving, remembering, and thinking, or as distinctive ways of apprehending, storing, transforming, and utilizing information" (Kogan, 1971, p. 244). There is no theoretically based set of ways of describing such variations. There is only a list of labels for variations that psychologists have studied. One such variation is the contrast in sensory modalities between visual and auditory strength that may underlie the findings reported by Stodolsky and Lesser above. Kogan (1971) lists nine other cognitive style dimensions:

> field independence vs. field dependence
> scanning - a measure of how attention is focused
> breadth of categorizing
> conceptualizing styles - e.g., analytic vs. thematic categories
> cognitive complexity vs. simplicity
> reflectiveness vs. impulsivity
> leveling vs. sharpening - a measure of assimilation in memory
> constricted vs. flexible control - susceptibility to distraction
> tolerance for incongruous or unrealistic experiences

Of these nine dimensions, field dependence/independence is the most thoroughly researched. To my knowledge, differences in sensory modality strength and in field dependence are the only two dimensions of cognitive style on which any evidence of cultural differences have been found. In these two areas, individual differences in cognitive styles do seem to be correlated with membership in particular cultural groups. In addition, suggestions have been made for how instruction might be adapted to these differences, and in a few cases evaluation data on attempted adaptations are available. The two dimensions will be discussed further in turn.

Visual vs. Auditory Sensory Modality Strength

Many teachers observe informally that some children seem to learn more through their eyes while other children learn more through their ears. My experience is probably typical. In 1974-75 I taught a combined first-second-third grade in San Diego (Cazden, 1975). Two of the six first graders were

Mexican boys who both did very well in beginning reading but seemed to learn in strikingly different ways. Rafael seemed to learn more through his eyes, remembering with remarkable accuracy how a word looked and where he had seen it. In the game of Concentration - where pairs of word cards are placed face down on the table and players take turns trying to find the pairs - Rafael could beat anyone in the class, child or adult. Alberto, on the other hand, was not particularly good at Concentration. But he had a much easier time attending to the sounds that words are made of, and wrote daily stories with invented spelling to match his Spanish accent - e.g., An tis coner is drragn (In this corner is dragon.). (See Cazden, 1975 and the cover of the magazine in which it appears for two of Alberto's pictures and accompanying captions.)

Beyond such informal observations, there is considerable research evidence, both experimental and ethnographic, for cultural differences in sensory modality strength. "Strength" refers to some combination of ability and preference which are often hard to separate. Stodolsky and Lesser (1967) gave four "mental ability tests" to middle- and lower-class children from four cultural groups in New York City (Chinese, Jewish, Negro and Puerto Rican) and three groups in a replication study in Boston (Chinese, Irish and Negro). On space conceptualization, a visual strength, the Chinese ranked first, Jews second, Puerto Ricans third and Negroes fourth. For the Chinese and Negro groups, the culture-specific patterns of strength and weaknesses found first in New York were replicated almost exactly in Boston. Social class differences within each group affected absolute scores but not the overall pattern and differences among the groups were greater among lower class children than among middle class children.

Cazden and John (1971) report extensive observations on the visual strengths of Native American children from many tribes. Kleinfeld (1973) reviews comparable evidence for the same sensory modality strength, which she calls 'figural', in Alaskan Eskimos.

Most recently, John-Steiner and Osterreich (1975) report visual strengths in a study of learning styles among Pueblo children. They told a story to Pueblo and non-Pueblo primary grade children and then asked the children to both retell the story and draw a picture of it. The amount of information from the story retained in the children's retelling and drawings was then compared. The Pueblo children conveyed more information in their drawings, while the non-Pueblo children conveyed more information in their verbal retelling. (Some of the children were tested in English, others in Keres or Tano, others in both. Presumably, though unfortunately not clearly stated, the relative strength of the Pueblo children's visual expression holds in comparison with retelling in whatever is the child's dominant language.) John-Steiner and Osterreich also gave an "imagery" test to Indian and non-Indian adults. Navajo, Crow and non-Indian men and women enrolled in teacher training programs were asked to write down the images that 8 words such as house brought to mind. Images were classified as visual ("beige-covered house, post fence surrounding it...") or verbal ("a house is a shelter full of love") or both. Crow Indians gave the most visual responses (70%), Navajos next (50%) and non-Indians least (33%).

It is easy to imagine how relative visual strength could be exploited in reading or mathematics instruction, but the evaluation of controlled experiments so far presents a mixed picture. Bissell, White and Zivin (1971) review two studies in which individual children's modality strength was matched with types of reading instruction. Modality strength was assessed by tests of visual discrimination of letter combinations and auditory discrimination of letter sounds. The relationship between the children's relative scores and sight vs. phonic method of instruction was then analyzed. The results are inconclusive: one study reports that matching helped and the other reports it did not. Whether the weakness is in the assessment of individual differences or in instructional design is unclear.

Lesser reports similar attempts to match instruction in mathematics to modality strength. Certain mathematical concepts can be portrayed either by visual means such as graphs or Venn diagrams, or by equivalent words or numerical symbols. Lesser concludes from the few studies to date that "This research is clearer about the destructive effects of mismatching than it is about the constructive effects of matching. . .The inhibiting effects of mismatching seem well documented; the rational bases for arranging uniformly successful matches remain to be clarified" (1971, p. 541-2).

It is likely that the educational effects of differences in sensory modality strengths are most significant in the early school years. Whereas adults usually can readily transmit information learned in one modality to the other modalities, children's sensory modalities are not as highly coordinated (Bissell, White & Zivin, 1971, p. 149). Because of the inconclusive results from attempts at an instructional match, and the dangers of mismatching, our best strategy at the present time seems to be a deliberately multi-sensory curriculum. A detailed example of multi-sensory teaching of the concept of a set (Bissell, White and Zivin, 1971) is given in Appendix I.

As Bissell, White and Zivin point out, "By teaching the concept of a set or any other concept with a multisensory approach, one is not only more likely to reach all the children in a class but also more likely to make each child's learning experience a richer thing" (1971, p. 150). Their recommendation applies to all children, but it applies with greatest force to the children to whom LAU Guidelines apply. Schools in general rely too heavily on verbal presentations by teachers and on demands to children for verbal expression of what they have learned. But this overreliance on words for the representation and communication of information is especially unfortunate in classrooms where the ability of children to comprehend or produce the language of instruction is in question. Enforcement of LAU Guidelines should include attention to rich and diverse multi-sensory modes of instruction.

Field Dependence vs. Field Independence

Because "the field independence-dependence dimension is unquestionably the most widely known and thoroughly researched" (Kogan, 1971, p. 247), and because there is some evidence that field dependence is a characteristic of at least some Mexican-American children, the largest single group to whom LAU Guidelines apply, it is important to consider this research in some detail.

Research on the dimension of cognitive style called field dependence-field independence began in the late 1950's when Witkin conducted a series of studies investigating individuals' ability to locate their bodies vertically in space when seated in an experimental room that was tilted at an angle (Body Adjustment Test or BAT). Some people were more influenced by the position of the room and located themselves 'vertically' along the axis of the room's inclination. Witkin termed this greater reliance on the surrounding context as field dependency (FD). Other people who relied on bodily cues more than visual cues to determine 'vertically' and were thus less influenced by the position of the room were labeled field independent (FI). This work prompted further studies investigating aspects of perception other than bodily awareness. Tests include the now well-known Embedded

Figures Test (EFT) which requires subjects to find a simple design within a more complex one, and the Rod and Frame Test (RFT) which requires subjects to adjust a rod to a position perceived as vertical within a square frame that is tilted, much like the tilted room task. From these three tests, it is possible to obtain quantitative measures of the extent to which an individual's perception is influenced by, or more sensitive to, the surrounding field.

From the first decade's research, Witkin, _et_. _al_. (1962) report that individuals are reliably self-consistent in their performance on the three tests; females are found to more field dependent than males; and a person's tendency to be either field dependent or independent remains stable over a period of years, although there is also a developmental trend toward field-independence. That is, an individual's score becomes more field independent with age, but the position relative to others on the FD-FI continuum remains substantially the same.

Around this core of scores on these three perceptual tests, researchers have attempted to describe broader personality characteristics of individuals with more FD or FI cognitive styles. In 1954, Witkin himself co-authored a book entitled _Personality Through Perception_, describing research indicating that FD individuals make more use of social frames of reference than do FI individuals. Other research on personality correlates (reviewed by Witkin & Goodenough, 1975) finds that FD individuals tend to reach agreement more easily in a dilemma where the information given them is ambiguous; are more attentive to social cues (e.g., in a puzzle task, FD children glance more often at the experimenter's face while FI children glance more often at the experimenter's puzzle); prefer topics with social content and situations involving social interaction more than FI people.

This research has been welcomed by Witkin as showing that the FD-Fi dimension of cognitive style pervades many aspects of behavior. In his 1975 review, Witkin says that "cognitive styles cut across the boundaries traditionally used in compartmentalizing the human psyche and help restore it to its proper status as a wholistic entity" (p. 21). In evaluating this claim, it is important to remember that data relating personality and social behavior to perceptual and intellectual functioning are correlational data. Even when the correlation is statistically significant, it is never perfect, or even close to perfect. Any sample of people will include FI individuals who score high on social characteristics measured in the particular study as well as FD individuals who score low.

Besides the dangers of invalidly stereotyping perceptual and social behavior under one FD or FI label, application of the labels themselves represents a misconstrual of what the test scores signify. Throughout the research literature, people are classified into two groups on the basis of their tendency to use one mode of functioning more than the other on the perceptual tests. It must be remembered that the scores form a continuum from very low to very high. Although we might well agree that the scores at the far ends of the continuum may be clear examples of one or the other cognitive style, we must question the accuracy of these labels for individuals (or, more accurately, for scores) in the middle ranges of the continuum. In studies where two groups of subjects are contrasted on sex, social class or ethnicity, the tendency to label one group as field dependent and the other as field independent is even more suspect. The scores for one group can only be considered more field dependent or more field independent in relation to the scores of the other group; there is no absolute measure of field dependency or independency.

Witkin has himself warned against the danger of stereotyping. In his 1964 book, he stressed the importance of considering individuals as unique, saying that:

> ...although to characterize a person as more or less differentiated is to say a great deal about him, it is far from a sufficient account... It is necessary to add a whole series of uniquely individual qualifications to the statement (Witkin, 1964, p. 382).

Even more strongly, in 1975 he stated:

> Because scores from any test of field dependence-independence form a continuous distribution, these labels reflect a tendency in varying degrees of strength, toward one mode of perception or the other....There is no implication that there exist two distinct types of human beings (Witkin, 1957, p. 9).

Despite these cautions, the danger continues to exist that each new study will strengthen the stereotypes with the addition of another distinction between "two types of people."

The dangers of stereotyping become compounded by tendencies to consider FI cognitive style inherently better. Ramírez and Castañeda (1974, p. 73) criticize Witkin for placing a higher value on FI than on FD style. This criticism applies to Witkin's 1962 book in which he did stress the positive aspects of field independence, but those views have since been changed (e.g., in his 1975 review). The original higher valuation of an FI style probably resulted from data which showed a developmental trend toward field-independence and thus provided justification for the widespread view that FI is a more mature and adaptive mode of functioning. The changed valuation comes from the realization that the perceptual tests score individuals on their degree of articulation and differentiation in apprehending the physical world, while subsequent research on personality correlates can be interpreted as showing finer articulation and differentiation by FD individuals in the social world. Witkin's 1975 review concludes:

> These characteristics add up to a set of social skills which are less evident in field-independent people. On the other hand, field independent people give evidence of greater skill in cognitive analyses and structuring than field dependent people. The cluster of characteristics found in field-dependent people and the cluster found in field-independent people each has components which are helpful in dealing with particular situations. The field-dependent and field-independent cognitive styles are thus not inherently good or bad. Their value can only be judged with reference to their adaptiveness in particular life circumstances (1975, p. 45).

The characterization of Mexican-American children as more field-dependent than Anglo children depends on two studies. Ramírez and Price-Williams (1974) compared the scores on a portable Rod and Frame test of fourth grade children in Houston, Texas, from three cultural groups: Mexican-American children who were Spanish-English bilinguals, Black children in bilingual French-English families from Louisiana, and Anglo children. Scores of both the Mexican-American and Black children were more field dependent than the Anglo children. More specifically, degrees of error in their estimation of verticality were about twice as great. There were smaller but still statistically significant sex differences (girls more field dependent than boys), and no differences in social class within each cultural group. In a larger comparison in Riverside, California by Caravan (reported by Ramírez and Castañeda, 1974, p. 78), Mexican-American children in grades K-6 were significantly more field dependent in the Man-in-the-Box test (an instrument similar to the portable Rod and Frame Test).

Ramírez, Castañeda and Herold (1974) report considerable variability on the FD-FI dimension among Mexican-American children, and relate that variability to different socialization practices in traditional, dualistic and atraditional communities. Although scores for children in even the atraditional community are more FD than Anglo children, the authors wisely suggest that "implementation of experimental model programs for Mexican-Americans in settings different from those in which they were originally developed must be carried out with great caution" (p. 431).

Research on the educational implications of the FD-FI dimension is summarized by Kogan as of 1971:

> Witkin's analytical-global dimension would appear to be ideally suited for research on the interaction between variables of cognitive style and instructional treatment. Both ends of Witkin's dimension have adaptive properties, though of a distinctly different kind, and it is feasible that education programs could be devised to profit each of the polar types. Unfortunately, no work of this sort has as yet been carried out (p. 253).

In his review of more recent studies of the educational implications of the FD-FI dimension, Witkin (1975) categorizes them according to three questions: how students learn, how teachers teach, and how students and teachers interact. Although these studies deal with education, few take place in regular classrooms.

Studies on student learning have looked at both the cognitive and social aspects of cognitive style. For example, FD students are better able to learn and remember social content and are more affected by social reinforcement and verbal criticism. In concept-attainment tasks, FI students are more apt to use a hypothesis-testing strategy while FD students use a more spectator approach, trying to remember the relevant attributes until the irrelevant ones become obvious.

Investigations of the styles used by teachers have focused mainly on social aspects of the FD-FI dimension. They suggest that teachers of different cognitive styles create different learning environments by preferring contrasting teaching techniques. For instance, FD teachers seem to prefer classroom discussions to lecturing since it allows more interpersonal interaction; they share more responsibility for learning with their students; and they tend to emphasize the social aspects of curriculum content. FI teachers, by contrast, tend to prefer lecturing, assume more of the responsibility for the teaching-learning situation, and emphasize the more cognitive aspects of curriculum content. Because these studies have been conducted in simulated teaching situations in the laboratory, it cannot be assumed that these differences are representative of actual classroom performance. In fact, two studies conducted in actual classrooms found no relation between teaching variables and the teacher's cognitive style.

Two studies of teacher-student relationships found that students and teachers matched on cognitive style tend to regard each other more positively (in answers to questionnaires) than did students and teachers who were not alike, and FI and FD teachers assigned higher grades (prior to the final exam) to their FI and FD students respectively.

While these findings are of interest, they do not address the most important question: does matching cognitive style of teachers and students result not only in greater interpersonal attraction but also in improved student academic achievement, especially in relation to some universal goal of education? There is no evidence in answer to this question. Witkin includes a brief description of a study of his own in which students of FD and FI teachers did not differ significantly in their test scores at the end of an experimental "minicourse". Although this result does not address the central question, it does suggest that when students are grouped heterogeneously by cognitive style, the cognitive style of the teacher does not affect average group achievement. The data as presented do not give information on the students' cognitive styles, and it would be of interest to know whether the achievement of individual students who matched their teacher in cognitive style was significantly higher than the achievement of students who did not.

Some suggestions for educational practices that should enhance learning for FD children are simply suggestions for better education in general -- e.g., providing more structure in curriculum tasks, and creating more learning situations which allow for interpersonal interaction. They would be generally considered aspects of good teaching. More specific and prescriptive recommendations go beyond the present state of our knowledge. Witkin himself concludes his review of available information with extreme caution:

> The first and foremost question is whether matching for cognitive style makes for better student learning, and not alone for the greater interpersonal attraction that has been demonstrated to this point. On the one hand, it is possible to see ways in which teacher-student match may have a positive learning outcome. For example, it may well be that the greater interpersonal attraction between teachers and students matched in cognitive style creates a classroom atmosphere conducive to learning... On the other hand, it is equally possible to conceive of negative consequences of matching. As one example, it may be that for some kinds of learning content a contrast in styles between teacher and student may be more stimulating than similarity. In general, because heterogeneity makes for diversity in viewpoints and responses, it may serve to make the classroom more lively; if so, homogeneous classes may be ill-advised. As another example, while the interpersonal effects of the discussion approach used by relatively field-dependent teachers may be helpful to learning by field-dependent students, that very approach at the same time minimizes structure from the teacher which field-dependent students seem to need for most effective learning. As still another example, we have seen that relatively field-independent teachers are likely to use negative reinforcement in the classroom, but it is the more field-dependent student who is particularly responsive to this technique, although, depending on circumstances, its effects on learning may be positive or negative. There is a similar "disparity" in the more field-independent teacher's tendency to provide feedback and the field-dependent child's benefit from feedback as a source of structuring. The possibilities that have

> been listed reflect the complexity of the relation between cognitive style match-mismatch and student achievement and they provide a strong note of caution against deciding about the desirability of matching before a great deal more is known about the consequences of matching for student learning. An added note of caution is suggested by the obvious practical problems likely to be encountered in attempting to create classes of students homogeneous in cognitive style and matched in style with their teacher (in press).

Not included in Witkin's review is Ramírez and Castañeda's important proposal for "bicognitive development and educational policy":

> Our research on *bicultural* children led us to the discovery that children who could cope effectively with the demands of *two* cultures were those children who exhibited some capability to be able to perform within both field-sensitive and field-independent cognitive styles. This finding led us to posit a concept of bicognition or bicognitive development....The goal that children become more versatile and adaptable to the increasingly complex demands of life in a postindustrial society may be reached by helping them develop the ability to switch cognitive styles - to be "cognitive switch-hitters" - or to draw upon both styles at any given time (1974, p. 153-4).

To implement this proposal, the cognitive style of each child is assessed through several Child Behavior Observation Instruments designed by the authors. Students are grouped within each classroom according to their cognitive profile: into either an extreme FI group, a middle group, or an extreme F-Sensitive (i.e., FD) group. In addition, the preferred teaching style of each teacher is assessed by means of 2 Teaching Strategies Observation Instruments. Teachers then are trained in the unfamiliar teaching style so that they will be proficient in using both styles in the classroom. They also learn to recognize characteristics of each cognitive style in children. Children begin in one group matched to their cognitive style, and move to another group when the teacher decides they are ready, moving from one extreme group, to the middle group, and finally to the opposite extreme group. Ramírez and Castañeda suggest that as both teachers and students become more flexible in their use of both styles, groupings may become less rigidly defined. It is not clear what proportion of each school day children spend in these groups.

The authors say their approach is "most effective in implementing the cognitive styles component of culturally democratic educational environments and for encouraging development of bicognition in children" (p. 146) but no actual evaluation data are presented. Certainly both it, and the many other research ideas in Ramírez (1975) should be tried. But, until we have more research evidence, it does not seem advisable to make specific recommendations for educational policy on this dimension of cognitive style.

Cultural Differences in Interactional Style

Cultural differences exist not only in cognitive information processing habits, but also in the interactional contexts in which people prefer to learn and to demonstrate what they have learned in some kind of performance. These latter differences I have called "interactional style." The label can include some of the social correlates of the FD style discussed above. It includes different reactions to cooperative vs. competitive situations mentioned in the Guidelines. And it includes considerable ethnographic evidence on childrens' responses to different interaction situations in school and in their home community.

One experimental study (Kagan & Madsen, 1971) has supplemented ethnographic observations that rural Mexican and Mexican-American children are more cooperative and less competitive than Anglo children. Anglo and Mexican-American children 4-5 and 7-9 years old in Los Angeles and Mexican children 7-9 years old in Baja, California were taught to play a game in which only cooperative play allowed pairs of players to win a toy reward.

All the younger children were overwhelmingly cooperative. But among the older children, Mexican children were by far the most effective cooperators, Anglo children least cooperative, and the Mexican-American children in the middle. For example, in frequencies of trials labeled "completely cooperative", Mexican children had 63%, Mexican-American children had 29% and Anglo children only 10%.

The most detailed ethnographic research on the discontinuities that children from minority cultures face in public school classrooms has been done by Philips (1972, 1975) on the Warm Springs Reservation in Oregon. In the public school classrooms on the Warm Springs Reservation, teachers use four participant structures:

> In the first type of participant structure the teacher interacts with all of the students....And it is always the teacher who determines whether she talks to one or to all, receives responses individually or in chorus, and voluntarily or without choice. In a second type of participant structure, the teacher interacts with only some of the students in the class at once, as in reading groups. In such contexts, participation is usually mandatory rather than voluntary, individual rather than chorus, and each student is expected to participate or perform verbally, for the main purpose of such smaller groups is to provide the teacher with the opportunity to assess the knowledge acquired by each individual student....
>
> A third participant structure consists of all students working independently at their desks, but with the teacher explicitly available for student-initiated verbal interaction, in which the child indicates he wants to communicate with the teacher by raising his hand, or by approaching the teacher at her desk. In either case, the interaction between student and teacher is not witnessed by the other students in that they do not hear what is said.
>
> A fourth participant structure, and one which occurs infrequently in the upper primary grades, and rarely, if ever, in the lower grades, consists of the students being divided into small groups, which they run themselves though always with the distant supervision of the teacher, and usually for the purpose of so-called "group projects." (Philips, 1974, pp. 377-378)

By contrast with non-Indian children, Philips found the Indian children reluctant to participate in the first two structures, which are the most frequent in most classrooms, but more talkative than non-Indian children in the last two contexts.

Philips explains these cultural differences as caused by sociolinguistic interference between participant structures in the school and in the children's home and community. In their homes, Indian children learn by a combination of "observation, which of course includes listening; supervised participation; and private self-initiated self-testing."

> In summary, the Indian social activities to which children are early exposed outside the home generally have the following properties: 1) They are community-wide, in the sense that they are open to all Warm Springs Indians; 2) there is no single individual directing and controlling all activity, and to the extent that there are "leaders," their leadership is based on the choice to follow which is made by each person; 3) participation in some form is accessible to everyone who attends. No one need be exclusively an observer or audience, and there is consequently no sharp distinction between audience and performer. And each individual chooses for himself the degree of his participation during the activity....
>
> This process of Indian acquisition of competence may help to explain, in part, Indian children's reluctance to speak in front of their classmates. In the classroom, the process of acquisition of knowledge and demonstration of knowledge are collapsed into the simple act of answering questions or reciting when called upon to do so by the teacher, particularly in the lower grades (Philips, 1972, pp. 387-8 and 390).

Other ethnographic reports suggest that the difficulties felt by the Warm Springs children in large group recitations are felt by other minority group children as well. Boggs (1972) reports that Hawaiian children participate volubly in choral responses, and individually volunteer information to teachers when they sense her receptivity, but become silent if called on by name. Dumont (1972) contrasts two Cherokee classrooms - one in which children are silent and one in which children talk excitedly and productively about all their learning tasks. In the silent classroom, teacher-dominated recitations fail. In the classroom where children are engaged, they have choices of when and how to participate, and small group projects apart from teacher domination are encouraged.

Combined, these observations suggest that children from varied minority groups are less apt to perform on demand when asked a question individually in a large group, and more apt to participate actively and verbally in smaller groups and in situations where they can volunteer. Verbal participation in classrooms is important for all children as an indicator of engagement as well as a demonstration to the teacher of what has been learned. For bilingual children, verbal participation in either language is especially important as a learning activity in itself. Classroom environments should be designed to maximize that participation on educationally relevant topics. These generalizations, suggestive and unproven as they may be, also underlie the concern expressed in the introduction about the excessive amount of testing and degree of individualization in some management systems for diagnosing and prescribing children's educational needs.

Consideration of such cultural differences in interactional styles requires that the concept of diagnosis and prescription be applied not only to individual children but to classroom learning environments themselves. Unfortunately, in addition to descriptions such as the above of naturally occurring contrasts between unsuccessful and successful classrooms, we do not yet have evaluation reports of deliberate attempts to change participant structures to maximize children's engagement and thereby their learning. Coburn (1975) promises an important attempt to incorporate ideas on the social context of speech from Philips' research into the Teachers Manual which will accompany reading and language arts materials created in Indian communities in the Pacific Northwest. Cazden (1974) contains many suggestions for further research in this area.

Both the problem of cultural differences in interactional styles and a potential solution are highlighted by Report V of the Mexican American Education Study of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1972) which includes observations of teacher-student interaction in 494 elementary and secondary school classrooms in California, New Mexico and Texas. The report exposes differences in interaction patterns between teachers and their Mexican American students on the one hand, and teachers and their Anglo students on the other: teachers respond significantly more often to Anglo students with acceptance and praise of the students' ideas, and the Anglo students, in turn, speak more often in class than do the Mexican American students. Clearly this situation, which is probably representative of schools with children from many minority groups, must be changed, and it is unlikely in view of the above research that a simple change in teachers' reinforcement patterns will suffice.

Since children's degree of participation is so obvious to teacher and observer alike, no one has to wait for formal research results before attempting change. Monitoring cultural as well as individual differences in children's participation should be a continuous part of the formative evaluation component of any BBE program. Where participation is low, teachers and supporting personnel (both professional and community) must diagnose the classroom learning environment (not the children), try alternative participant structures in the light of the general research reviewed above on cooperation vs. competition and interactional styles, and observe the results. This is part of what Hymes (1976) means by "ethnographic monitoring," and there is probably no more powerful way to create culturally responsive education.

In a simple and general way, such monitoring can and should be done in any school system right now. A more complex version, in which a trained ethnographer studies interaction patterns in a particular community and then works with the school staff and advisory community group in planning change, should be supported as field research projects in a few sites. There are to date no examples of situations in which information like Kagan and Madsen's on cooperation, or Philips' on participant structures, is collected and then fed back in to the design of school learning environments in that particular community.

Staff Selection and Training

The most important factor in achieving culturally responsive education is the school staff. They create the learning environments in which children succeed or fail. Because "culture" is so largely a matter of implicit knowledge, it is not sufficient for Anglo teachers to take formal courses on non-Anglo language and culture. The "Proposed Approach to Implement Bilingual Programs" prepared by the National Puerto Rican Development and Training Institute (n.d.) is very clear on this point. Accepting the importance of ethnic foods, festivals and courses on cultural history, they insist:

> But this is a limited interpretation of the concept of culture. What seems to be forgotten is that culture is acquired by direct, frequent, varied participation and experience in all aspects of the life of a group of people. A very large part of this acquisition occurs outside of the learner's awareness. It follows that culture in this deep sense cannot be taught in culture classes.
>
> Culture can only be "taught" or transmitted if special efforts are made to incorporate into the school, its

> curriculum, its staff and activities as many aspects as possible of the life of the cultural group to which the learner belongs (p. 30, quoted in part in Aspira of New York, Inc. *et al* vs. Board of Education of the City of New York, *et al*, p. 15).

Teachers as well as children can only learn in this way.

Three changes in staffing patterns can each contribute to bringing the minority children's culture into the school. First, parents and other community members can participate in all aspects of the school program, including direct work with children. B. Cardenas gives an example from the Edgewood School District in San Antonio:

> A cultural responsiveness permeates the Edgewood project. You may not see the Aztec sign in every classroom, but you do see the relationship between child and teacher as a very culturally relevant thing. You do see a culturally oriented learning style being respected. You do see parents in the classroom, and parents are transmitters of culture (1972, p. 21).

Second, there must be a plan for hiring and promoting school personnel who are members of the children's cultural group. As the Cardenas plan for Denver says, "at least a portion of this staff must be reflective of the characteristics of the minority child. Teachers who are members of minority groups have the highest propensity for understanding and responding to the characteristics of minority children" (1974, p. 25). Note that here we are arguing for the hiring of minority group staff on grounds of educational relevance. Such arguments are separate from, and in addition to, other arguments on grounds of affirmative action.

Third, there must be inservice education, and it must include firsthand experience in the children's community and with the children's home culture. The nature of that experience must be designed and implemented by some joint group of professional and community people. More than ten years ago, Landes (1965) described an "anthropology and education program for training teachers" at Claremont Graduate School which was based on "Knowing" as well as "knowing about":

> In the American schools, emphasis is laid primarily on words to represent all the reality comprehended by men: ideas, values, skills, creations, details of knowledge, teachers, and the beneficiaries of teaching - that is, the pupils and the community. But heavy use of this prime tool can fail educators in their goal of attuning instruction to actual processes of learning. This happens when educators talk more about pupils than with them and their families. Separateness from the objects of discussion forfeits the experiences words should mirror (1974, p. 64).

This is not to say that "knowing about" is of no value; rather that it must be integrated with more direct, experiential forms of "knowing" as well.

Such a requirement of direct experience is included in the Recommendations for the Implementation of the Guidelines for the Preparation and Certification of Teachers of BBE Through Inservice Training (Center for Applied Linguistics, 1974). They say, in part:

> That various 'cultural' activities or experiences be included as sessions in any inservice course....
>
> That teachers be involved in community affairs where they interact with persons of the 'other' cultures....
>
> That during inservice training teachers be provided with genuine experiences within the community, especially with minority groups of the same origin as the students. Opportunities for voluntary natural interaction in community activities are to be provided on an ongoing basis, with follow-up sessions for discussion of observations and questions...

The most detailed plan to date for what a school system must do to conform to the LAU decision is the Master Plan for BBE in San Francisco developed by the Center for Applied Linguistics and the Citizen's Task Force on Bilingual Education (1975). Part Four of that plan is on Training Program Development. The modes of training described include "Action Training" such as observation and community visitation, and plans for "Formal Training types" such as workshops and seminars include explicit requirements for the participation of community members. One sample module of training session development is given in detail (pp. 23-38). The overall goal of the module is "To increase the competency of fifth grade classroom staff to teach the interdisciplinary curriculum unit on 'Politeness in language and society in the Phillipines and the U.S.' and to integrate the unit into the total development of the child" (p. 32). Because this training module is related to general cultural differences in interactional styles as well as to specific curriculum content, it is included as an Appendix to this paper. Note particularly the participation of community members (e.g., 1 for every 15 participants for certain workshops) who provide for the teacher participants both information and opportunities to practice the appropriate verbal and nonverbal behavior.

If reminder is needed about what happens when a well-intentioned school administrator tries to do some inservice education on his own, Picket at the Gates (Fuchs, 1966) reports a true story. A principal of a school largely Black and Puerto Rican, who "had been reading a great deal concerning the characteristics of children in depressed areas" (pg. 6), found out that he would have fifteen new white teachers in the fall. Hoping to help them, he wrote a letter to the faculty, with a copy to the PTA president, sharing his "facts" about the children and their families. As we would now expect, the parents reacted strongly, demanding his removal. Thus, symbolically at least, the "pickets at the gates."

This is a story from the mid-1960's, and we may feel sure we have grown in cultural sensitivity in the intervening ten years. But we still sorely need case studies of successful models of inservice bicultural education.

Summary

The concept of culturally responsive education rests on fundamental concepts of the nature of culture and the nature of intelligence and is a very important part of the LAU Guidelines. Four recommendations for research and educational policy to achieve culturally responsive education have been made:

1) Because children differ in sensory modality strength, and the learning of all children in BBE schools may be depressed in overly verbal environments, all such schools should deliberately plan more multisensory instruction.

2) Because the educational implications of differences in field dependence-independence have not yet been evaluated, this is an important topic for research of the kind outlined in Ramírez' (1975) Panel report to NIE.

3) Because classroom participation is an indicator of children's engagement and thereby of their learning, and also a valuable learning activity in itself in BBE programs, monitoring of that participation and subsequent planning for change where needed should be a part of formative evaluation procedures in all BBE schools. In a few communities, field research projects should be supported in which an ethnographer does a community-specific diagnosis of incompatibilities between the interactional styles of community and school, suggests change then helps to monitor the results. More detailed research suggestions are found in the panel report chaired by Cazden (1974) for NIE, and in Hymes (1976).

4) All school systems should bring the invisible culture of the community into the school through parent participation, hiring and

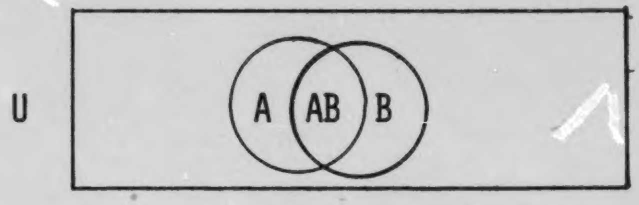
promotion of minority group personnel, and inservice training for the school staff. That inservice training should include both experiential and formal education components along the lines described in the Master Plan for San Francisco. Case study descriptions of successful inservice programs should be accumulated and distributed widely.

Appendix I

Presentation of the concept of a set in three sensory modalities (from Bissell, White & Zivin, 1971, pp. 149-150)

For example, let us suppose that a teacher wants to teach the mathematical notion of a set. A verbal description of a set as a well-defined collection of objects might include a discussion of the idea of a set in its common, everyday usage, where it implies a recognition of some common property possessed by a group of objects. We speak of a set of dishes, a set of stamps, a set of books, and the like. Eliciting similar examples from students would be part of a verbal presentation of the notion of a set.

A visual description of the concept might include the following diagrammatic representation:



Here U is a geometric representation of the set of all children's books, A is the set of Mary's books, and B is the set of books belonging to Mary's brother, Tom. The area AB represents all the books shared by Mary and Tom, and is referred to as the intersection of sets A and B.

The kinesthetic modality might be more effective than the verbal or the visual modality for teaching the concept of a set to some children. Thus, each child might be given three shoelaces and asked to make a circle out of each one. He might also be given nine plane geometric shapes, of which three are triangles, three circles, and three squares. Each of the same-shaped figures is a different color, so that, for example, there is a red triangle, a green triangle, and a blue triangle. The children might then be asked to categorize the figures and place the different categories within the shoelace outlines. Let us assume that one child groups the objects into three categories, according to shape, having created a set of all triangles, a set of all circles, and a set of all squares. Another child might group the objects into categories on the basis of color, creating a set of all red shapes, one of all blue shapes, and one of all green shapes. This manipulating of objects in discovering mathematical concepts such as the notion of a set enables children to represent these concepts to themselves through actions. By teaching the concept of a set or any other concept with a multisensory approach, one is not only more likely to reach all the children in a class but also more likely to make each child's learning experience a richer thing.

Appendix 2

Sample Module of Training Session Development

(From A Master Plan for Bilingual-Bicultural Education in the San Francisco Unified School District prepared by the Center for Applied Linguistics and Citizens' Task Force on Bilingual Education, 1975.)

2. Sample Module of Training Session development following system.

*Refer to numbered flow chart, pages 24 to 26.

Input 1.

Objective Addressed: All instructional staff members will evidence particular awareness of the curriculum section specific to the level of their students and the curriculum section their students will enter at the next level.

(Objective C of Goal 3 of Unit 3 of Installment #4.)

Input 2.

Implementation plan indicates that all fifth grade BBE classroom staff members dealing with Filipino students will be aware that an interdisciplinary unit of the language arts and the social studies curricula involves learning about and using the methods that Filipino languages and English use for polite requests among peers, and between status different conversational partners.

Input 3.

All fifth grade classroom staff members must know

a. the *function* of politeness in both *cultures*,

b. the *language structures* used for requesting in various styles in *both cultures*,

c. the *relevance* of *language usage* lessons *to* BBE program students in terms of *language development*, *cognitive development* relative to social studies and *affective* development relative to acceptance in bicultural settings,

d. the relevance of the *language structures* and the functional *cultural patterns* to elements in the *6th grade* curriculum,

e. *methods* for teaching *language arts* and *social studies* to *fifth grade* students,

f. *learning patterns* of the Filipino and other children in the class as a function of culture and personality,

g. methods to develop specific *performance objectives* for individual students relevant to this element in the curriculum,

h. methods to develop *unified lesson plans* to accomplish these activities,

i. methods to locate materials for *assessing* reliably student performance and for re-exposing those students in need,

j. method to locate materials and personnel needed to accomplish instruction.

Procedure 8 - 11

The sequencing decisions reveal that

a. although all fifth grade classroom staff should have some competency in all ten areas eventually, at present the tasks can be divided among the personnel in each given fifth grade classroom

b. specific training sessions here should build on and review prior more general training sessions that involve competencies c, e, f, g, j, as listed above.

Procedure 13

The specific content for this training session should include:

a. An ethnographic presentation of the range of politeness and its relevance to other cultural aspects in both societies.

b. An overview of the special politeness particles, intonation contours and sentence structures used in the relevant Filipino languages for (polite) requesting.

c. An overview of the special words, whimperative structures, modal verbs and sentence structures used in English for (polite) requesting.

d. An overview of the place of (b) and (c) in the language arts curriculum for both languages in grade 6.

e. Instruction in devising appropriate lesson plans, activities, and using available materials.

f. Review of training sessions relevant to competencies c, e, f, g, j above, in application to this element in the curriculum.

Procedure 14 - 21

•Participants shall be members of fifth grade instructional teams

a. who have not before taught this element in the curriculum.

b. and/or who have encountered difficulty with it.

c. and/or who show a need for more exposure to linguistic and ethnographic information about the Filipino or American English systems.

d. and/or who evidence lack of understanding of the relation of language arts and social study curriculum parts to the sequential development of the students.

e. and/or who evidence difficulty in planning and implementing lessons and assessment of students.

f. and who are competent in the language of instruction used for the training session.

g. and/or for whom language support can be provided.

h. and who have attained criterion level at competencies c, e, f, g, j as listed in Input 3, above.

•Arrangements are made to provide the participant teachers with compensatory time and/or credits and/or other motivational incentives for participating.

Procedure 22 - 24

•The mode of training:

a. Lecture and discussions on ethnographic and linguistic material.

b. Workshop I with community participation to consider specific instances of use of polite requests in both cultures.

c. Workshop II for devising lesson plans, activities, and materials.

d. Lecture and discussion relating this material to rest of curriculum and to other competencies of instructional staff.

e. Follow-up supervisory support for implementation of plans in classroom and for extension to other elements in curriculum.

•Time span: 1 month, excepting long-term assessment and support.

•Participant time required: 15 hours.

Procedure A1 - 10

•Training session resources

•BBE program staff and outside consultants to training staff for pre-training activities and for implementing and evaluating, including:

a) an ethnographer

b) a linguist

c) community members (1 from each community for every 15 participants).

•An institution who can supply an ethnographer, a linguist, and community members, and the capability to train in the areas noted negotiates a contract to work with the BBE training staff to be fully responsible for developing and implementing a and b in Procedure 22 - 24 and to be participants in developing c, d, e therein.

Procedure A - 11 to End:

•The training team will

a. devise specific goals and objectives.

b. develop the necessary specific information (including those based on site observations), and

c. engage in pre-training activities and training activities.

°The work of the outside resources will include:

a. Preparing the ethnographic and linguistic materials including sufficient attention to the varieties of the Pilipino and American culture and language in San Francisco.

b. Preparing the consultants who will be on site at the training session (the ethnographer, the linguist, the community members) to communicate successfully with the staff member participants.

c. Assisting the BBE program staff to develop the application workshop (II) and the final lecture-discussion (c and d in Procedure 22 - 24, above).

d. Developing a system for language arts and social studies supervisory personnel to use for follow-up support.

e. Developing the systems for assessment and evaluation.

°Sample of the goals, objectives, implementation plan, and evaluation of the session.

°Overall goal: To increase the competency of fifth grade classroom staff to teach the interdisciplinary curriculum unit on "Politeness in language and society in the Philippines and the U.S." and to integrate the unit into the total development of the child.

°Objectives: Activity (a) and (c) in Procedure 22 - 24 above.

a. The participants will understand politeness as a part of the cultural system of the Philippines.

b. The participants will understand politeness as a part of the cultural system of the United States.

c. The participants will understand the similarities and differences regarding politeness between the two cultural systems.

d. The participants will understand how an action is evaluated as polite or impolite in each cultural system.

e. The participants will understand what situations call for what degrees of politeness in each cultural systems.

f. The participants will understand the short and long term effect of polite and impolite actions in each culture.

g. The participants will understand the enculturating process relevant to politeness that operates on new members of each cultural system.

h. The participants will understand the surface behavior of politeness in classroom settings in each culture.

i. The participants will understand the potential points of conflict due to cultural differences in politeness systems between the two cultures.

•Objectives: Activity b and c of Procedure 22 - 24 above.

a. The participants will understand the speech act of requesting and its relation to questions and commands.

b, The participants will understand the structure of sentences used for making requests in the relevant Filipino languages.

c. The participants will understand the function words and particles related to requesting, and those which serve to mitigate the force of a sentence, in the relevant Filipino languages.

d. The participants will understand the use of differing vocative expressions in requests in the relevant Filipino languages.

e. The participants will understand the use of differing intonation contours in making requests in the relevant Filipino languages.

f. The participants will understand the distribution of allowable and polite responses to requests in the relevant Filipino languages.

g. The participants will understand the distribution of requesting in relation to the allowed content of the proposition in the request in the relevant Filipino languages.

h. The participants will understand the distribution of the variety in request forms in terms of the participants and setting of the speech occasion in the cultural setting of the relevant Filipino languages.

i - o. Similar objectives regarding the structure, distribution and use of the American English forms used in requesting, including modal verbs, question - imperative forms, the politeness particle, and the varying intonation contours.

°Objectives: Activity c of Procedure 22 - 24 above.

a. The participants will interact with members of each culture to practice polite request forms and responses in English and in the relevant Filipino languages.

b. The participants will interact with members of each culture to identify appropriate and inappropriate elements in situations involving requests and responses.

c. The participants will interact with members of each culture to identify and practice the non-verbal behavior appropriate to request and response forms.

°Implementing: Activity a of Procedures 22 - 24 above.

Staff: 1 lecturer, 2 other discussion leaders, all being ethnographers who specialize in cultural systems in the Philippines.

Participants: 30 Fifth grade classroom staff members, per meeting. (Supervisory personnel from language arts and social studies may also be included.)

Including:

(a) Master Teachers
(b) Experienced bilingual teachers
(c) Interns
(d) Aides
(e) Tutors

Events: (1) Lecture - Presentation of ethnographic study results concerning politeness in the Philippine and American cultural systems, covering the points in the objectives above. Audio visual aids will be utilized.

(2) Discussion groups for questioning and explanation in three small groups.

Time: 3 hours - 1 released Monday afternoon
1 1/2 hour lecture
1 1/2 hour discussion

•Implementing: Activity b of Procedure 22 - 24 above.

Staff: 1 lecturer, 2 other discussion leaders, all applied linguists specializing in language systems of the Philippines and the U.S.

Participants: Same

Events: (1) Lecture - Presentation of request forms and responses in the relevant Filipino languages and in American English.

(2) Small groups of 10 discussing data in both languages and recognizing appropriate and inappropriate usage.

Time: 3 hours - 1 released Wednesday afternoon

1 hour lecture

2 hours small group

•Implementing: Activity - c of Procedures 22 - 24 above.

Staff: 2 community members highly aware of American English language and culture.

2 community members highly aware of Filipino languages and culture.

Participants: same, divided into two groups.

Event: Fifteen participants and two consultants, one from each background, will

a. view video tape clips
b. identify polite and impolite actions
c. predict conflict situations
d. suggest avoidance and repair strategies
e. practice polite requests and responses in both languages
f. focus on politeness in classroom setting and request forms common in teacher-student interactions.

Event 2: Test on facts and on applying facts to situations.

Time: 3 hours Saturday A.M.

2 1/2 hours group

1/2 hour paper and pencil test

•Evaluation: Activity a, b, c, of Procedures 22 - 24 above.

1. Short term: The training session will be considered successful if

a. 80% of the participants will be assessed as competent on check list of objectives by discussion leaders in Activity a.

b. 80% of the participants will be assessed as competent on check list of objectives by discussion leaders in Activity b.

c. 80% of the participants will be assessed as competent on check list of objectives by discussion leaders in Activity c.

d. 80% of the participants will score over 70% correct on the factual information quiz administered at the end of Activity c.

e. 80% of the participants will score over 85% correct on the situation assessment quiz administered at the end of Activity C.

2. Long Term: The training session will be considered successful if

a. 80% of the participants will produce adequate lesson plans on this subject matter during Activity d, below.

b. 70% of the participants will effectively request community assistance in planning and devising materials for the lesson, as determined by supervisor follow-up.

c. 70% of the participants will be rated as effectively teaching the unit during the school year by their supervisors.

d. 80% of the students of the participants will display competency of 80% of the performance objectives for students relative to this material.

e. 70% of participants will get 65% correct on 6 mo. posttest.

3. Survey evaluations:

   a. Training staff members will report self-assessment of success and failures of training program activities.

   b. Participants will report evaluation of training on a questionnaire at termination of training.

   c. Participants will rank activities a, b, and c, of this training session in relation to others offered by BBE, SFUSD and others they have participated in, along 20 dimensions specified by the BBE training staff on a questionnaire administered six months after the termination of the training session.

Activity d. will be a methods and materials workshop which will be held for participants of the above activities as well as participants of four similar training sessions related to implementing the curriculum. The participant total will be 150 divided into 10 small work groups, two of which will deal specifically with this material.

Activity e. will be a lecture - discussion session for the same 150 participants reviewing and integrating the material into the overall curriculum objective.

Activity d and e will have specific goals and objectives and implementation, and evaluation plans similar to those developed for Activities a, b, c, above. The BBE program planning and development activities will utilize the assessment and evaluation materials from all of the above activities to evaluate the program and revise development plans where necessary. The BBE program staff will evaluate the outside and inside training resource effectiveness and use the evaluation in future decisions about training sessions.

References

Berliner, D. C. & Cahen, L. S. Trait-treatment interaction and learning. In F. N. Kerlinger (Ed.). Review of research in education I. Itasca, Ill.: F. E. Peacock (for AERA), 1974, pp. 58-94.

Bissell, J., White, S. & Zivin, G. Sensory modalities in children's learning. In G. S. Lesser (Ed.) Psychology and educational practice. Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman, 1971, pp. 130-155.

Beggs, S. T. The meaning of questions and narratives to Hawaiian children. In C. B. Cazden, V. P. John & D. Hymes (Eds.). Functions of language in the classroom. New York: Teachers College Press, 1972, pp. 299-327.

Cardenas, B. It's a circle for everybody to be involved in. Colloquy, June 1972, 18-23.

Cardenas, J. A. An education plan for the Denver Public Schools. San Antonio: National Education Task Force de la Raza, 1974.

Cazden, C. B. (Chairperson). Teaching as a linguistic process in a cultural setting. NIE conference on studies in teaching, Report of Panel 5. Washington: NIE, 1974.

Cazden, C. B. Classroom teaching relived. Harvard Graduate School of Education Bulletin, 1975, 19 (3), 12-13.

Cazden, C. B. & John, V. P. Learning in American Indian Children. In Wax, M. L., Diamond, S. & Gearing, F. O. (Eds.) Anthropological perspectives in education. New York: Basic Books, 1971, pp. 252-272.

Center for Applied Linguistics and Citizens' Task Force on Bilingual Education. A master plan for bilingual - bicultural education in the San Francisco Unified School District, Part 4, 1975.

Coburn, J. Proposal for 1976 Northwest Indian Reading and Language Development Program. Portland, Oregon: Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, 1975.

Dumont, R. V., Jr. Learning English and how to be silent: studies in Sioux and Cherokee classrooms. In C. B. Cazden, V. P. John & D. Hymes (Eds.) Functions of language in the classroom, New York: Teachers College Press, 1972, pp. 344-369.

Fuchs, E. Pickets at the gates: New York: The Free Press, 1966.

Hymes, D. Ethnographic monitoring. Paper prepared for the symposium, "Language Development in a Bilingual Setting," Multilingual/Multicultural Materials Development Center, Calif. State Polytechnic University, Pomona, Calif., March 1976.

John-Steiner, V. & Osterreich. Learning styles among Pueblo children. Final Report HEW: NEG-00-3-0074. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1975.

Kagan, S. & Madsen, M. C. Cooperation and competion of Mexican, Mexican-American and Anglo American children of two ages under four instructional sets. Development Psychology, 1971, 5, 32-39.

Kleinfeld, J. S. Intellectual strengths in culturally different groups: an Eskimo illustration. Review of Educational Research, 1973, 43, 341-359.

Kogan, N. Educational implications of cognitive styles. In G. S. Lesser, (Ed.) Psychology and educational practice. Glenview, Ill. Scott, Foresman, 1971. pp. 242-292.

Landes, R. Culture in American education. New York: Wiley, 1965.

Lesser, G. S. Matching instruction to student characteristics. In G. S. Lesser (Ed.) Psychology and Educational Practice. Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman, 1971, pp. 530-550.

National Puerto Rican Development and Training Institute, Inc. A proposed approach to implement bilingual education programs: research and synthesis of philosophical, theoretical and practical implications. New York: Author, n.d.

Philips, S. U. Acquisition of rules for appropriate speech usage. In C. B. Cazden, D. Hymes, V. P. Johns (Eds.). The Functions of Language in the Classroom. New York: Teachers College Press, 1972, pp. 370-394.

Philips, S. The Invisible Culture: Communication in the Classroom and Community on the Warm Springs Indian Reservation. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1974.

Ramírez, M. (Chairperson). Reading Strategies for Different Cultural and Linguistic Groups. NIE Conference on Studies in Reading, Report of Panel 9. Washington: NIE, 1975.

Ramírez, III, M., Castañeda, A. & Herold, P. L. The Relationship of Acculturaration of Cognitive Style Among Mexican Americans, Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 1974, 5, pp. 424-433.

Ramírez, III, M. & Price-Williams, D. R. Cognitive Styles of Children of Three Ethnic Groups in the United States. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 1974, 5, 212-219.

Stodolsky, Susan S. & Lesser, G. Learning Patterns in the Disadvantaged. Harvard Educational Review, 1967, 37, 546-593.

Tobias, S. Achievement Treatment Interactions. Review of Educational Research, 1976, 46, 61-74.

U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. Mexican American Educational Study, Report V. Washington: Superintendent of Documents, 1972.

Witkin, H. W. & Goodenough, D. R. Field Dependence and Interpersonal Behavior. Princeton, N.J.: Educational Testing Service, Research Bulletin, 1976.

Witkin, H. A. *et*. *al*. Personality Through Perception. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1972 (originally published 1954).

Witkin, H. A. *et*. *al*. *Psychological Differentiation*. Potomac, Md.: Erlbaum, 1974 (originally published 1962).

Witkin, H. A. *et*. *al*. Field-Dependent and Field-Independent Cognitive Styles and their Educational Implications. *Review of Educational Research*, in press.

PANEL I: Excerpts from Discussants' Remarks

DR. RAMIREZ: I'd like to start by commending Dr. Cazden for her paper... The comments that I have...are not really so much related to the paper as to some of the recent thinking that Al Castañeda and I have been doing...

I think that in our research now we have to be careful (to avoid) stereotypes and to emphasize the diversity, the heterogeneity that exists in society...I get concerned about the theories of Piaget, the theories of Bruner, because... I think the (idea of) universal stages of development should be very seriously questioned. When we start deciding that there are universal stages of development, then immediately people start deciding that there are some ethnic groups that are more backward in these stages of development than others, instead of looking at the world views and at the particular kinds of learning styles, teaching styles, motivational styles and human relational styles that are really more characteristic of these groups...

I don't want to categorize development as cognitive and affective because I think even that is a misinterpretation of what is happening in personality development. How can anyone develop affectively and not cognitively at the same time?... I think our research should focus more on cultural values, on socialization and on teaching styles (to see) the effects which those have on personality styles...

Al Castañeda and I sincerely believe that most people are bicognitive to some degree, and that the whole business of cognitive styles has just been lightly scratched on the surface. We need to do a lot more research in this area.

DR. CHIN: There are so many good things to applaud in Dr. Cazden's paper that I will just acknowledge that and go on...

The Lau decision (does not present) a new adventure to those of use who have been working towards bilingual/bicultural education. But it provides us with a legal force (where before we often had to rely on persuasion)...

We need to open up the (conceptual) frameworks of analysis (in our ethnographic research) without trying to deny what we've been doing in psychology, (to let ethnographic data enrich) our theories of learning and instruction.

PANEL I: Synopsis of Floor Discussion

It was generally agreed that contemporary theoretical models in cognitive psychology are too limited. A particular area of need was in "transformation research" -- meaning research into the processes whereby desirable learner behaviors could be achieved. There was re-emphasis, however, on the fact that we already have at least some knowledge of potentially effective classroom management strategies. Successful schools, such as those identified in a recent report of the Council on Basic Education, should be studied and emulated.

PANEL II: Introductory Statement

The second panel addressed topic (3) (see page 4). The Principal Investigators were Dr. Luis Laosa and Dr. Theresa Escobedo. Dr. Laosa's paper was entitled "The Sociocultural Context in Education." Dr. Escobedo's paper was entitled "Culturally Responsive Early Childhood Programs for Non-English-Speaking Children." Serving as Discussants were Mr. Lloyd Elm, Program Specialist with the Office of Indian Education (USOE), and Dr. Alvin Taylor, Acting Associate Director of the Stride General Assistance Center, Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development. The panel was presided over by Dr. Eileen Lundy of the University of Texas at San Antonio. Dr. Laosa's and Dr. Escobedo's papers are reproduced on the following pages.

THE SOCIOCULTURAL CONTEXT IN EDUCATION

Luis M. Laosa

Educational Testing Service

It has been sufficiently well documented that children from families of certain minority groups in the United States -- groups that typically bear a disproportionately high representation in the lower socioeconomic status categories -- tend to do poorly academically. For example, by now many are familiar with the large-scale study published in 1971 by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights which showed that fully 40% of the Mexican American[1] and fully 33% of the Black American children in the five southwestern states of the United States who enter first grade never complete high school; in contrast, only 14% of the Anglo American[2] students in the region fail to graduate. Statistics with regard to several other ethnic minority groups are, of course, just as depressing. I am not aware of any evidence pointing to a significant improvement in this situation during the past five years.

The early attempts to remedy this depressing state of affairs, which began in the 1950's, were based principally on the premise that there was some deficiency in these minority children and in their respective cultures that had to be corrected. More recently, however, on the basis of new empirical and theoretical evidence, there is an increasing acceptance of another view of the existing problems. This view posits that there are differences between minority and nonminority children and also differences among and within the various subcultural communities, and that since public schooling is generally geared toward the middle class nonminority child, these differences result in the minority child being less able to profit from those school experiences, gradually tuning out and eventually turning off school completely (cf. Cardenas & Cardenas, 1973; Cole & Bruner, 1971; Kleinfeld, 1973; Laosa, 1974a; 1974b; Tulkin, 1972). Following that general view, educational practices should be modified and corrected to accommodate and capitalize upon the characteristics of the child.

Research such as that reported by Lesser, Fifer, and Clark (1965) tends to bear out the view that children from different ethnic groups may possess different patterns of ability, different learning styles, and different ways of approaching problem-solving. Probably the most important finding of that study was that, while socioeconomic status affects the level of performance across various mental abilities, each ethnic group evidences a unique pattern of mental abilities. That is, each ethnic group has its own areas of strength in relation to other groups, but that regardless of ethnic group, lower class children perform less well than middle class children.

As yet, only a few of these educationally relevant characteristics associated with ethnic group membership have been identified, since research in this area is only just beginning. The few findings which are beginning to emerge lend support to a hypothesis of serious discontinuities between the early environments of minority children and the environments they encounter in school -- discontinuities or incompatibilities which appear to explain their early academic failure. But the number of these studies is still rather limited, and there is much we still do not know about the specific learning styles, motivational characteristics, interpersonal styles, and problem-solving strategies which young children, particularly those from ethnic minority backgrounds, develop early in life. We also as yet know very little about the factors affecting the transition that children must make between the family's sociocultural context and the often quite different sociocultural context of the school.

An Observational study of maternal teaching strategies

In one of the studies I am presently conducting, I set out to investigate whether there are ethnic group differences in the way young children are taught by their own mothers. I was interested in finding out whether there are ethnic group differences in young children's first experiences with activities involving teaching and learning in relation to adults. To do this, I had trained observers observe how mothers from different ethnic backgrounds (but from the same social class) taught their own children how to solve problems.

Out of a larger initial sample, I selected a total of 40 mothers and their respective five-year-old children, all from intact families. Twenty of the mother-child dyads were Mexican American and 20 were Anglo American. The Mexican American and the Anglo American mothers were closely matched by pairs on the husband's occupation in order to control for socioeconomic status. The occupational status of the fathers in these families ranged from semiskilled workers to technical and professional. These families were individually visited in their own homes by trained observers who were bilingual-bicultural Mexican Americans. During these visits, the mothers were asked to teach their own children how to solve a problem involving perceptual-cognitive and motor ability. Each mother's behaviors while she taught her child were recorded by the trained observers.

What have the results shown? Comparisons of the Mexican American and Anglo American mothers revealed that in the number of total teaching interactions directed to the children there were no ethnic group differences. Both the Mexican American and Anglo American mothers directed to their children approximately the same number of teaching interactions. Examining the ratio of verbal and nonverbal interactions for each ethnic group, however, indicates that the interactions which the Mexican American children received from their mothers were more frequently of a nonverbal than a verbal nature. On the other hand, the Anglo American children received more verbal than nonverbal types of interactions from their mothers. When I analyzed these interactions by the specific types of verbal and nonverbal behaviors they involve, additional ethnic group differences in maternal instructional strategies emerged: while teaching their own children, the Anglo mothers asked them more questions than the Mexican American mothers. On the other hand, the Mexican American mothers gave their own children more commands. Also, the Mexican American mothers were much more physically intrusive on the task; that is, the Mexican Americans -- much more than the Anglo mothers -- tended to actually perform the tasks for their own children.

These findings provide clear evidence, then, that Mexican American and Anglo children of the same social background (as measured by father's occupation) are exposed to quite different adult-child interaction styles and instructional strategies in the home. From these findings we are able to understand better, for example, the dynamics underlying a child's behavior in the typical testing or assessment situation: Modes or "rules" for interacting with adults which a young child has learned in the home will determine his expectations and his own behaviors vis a vis adults such as an examiner in a test situation, and this, of course, will dictate how he performs. Often, performance (i.e., what the child actually does or fails to do) in a particular situation is taken as a measure of competencies (i.e., what he is actually able to do under a set of circumstances that maximally elicit the required performance). Performance and competence, however, are not synonymous, since performance in any given situation is determined by a number of factors, including the "rules of interaction" (Getzels, 1974) which young children have learned in the sociocultural context of their homes. So, for example, the typical test situation in which an adult examiner asks the child questions will be a more familiar, culturally appropriate or "culturesyntonic" situation for an Anglo than for a Mexican American child. Moreover, many tests for young children involve asking the child to put together a puzzle, or blocks into a design, or other similar tasks. As indicated above, the data show that the Mexican American child -- significantly more so than the Anglo child -- is socialized to expect the adult to actively help him perform the task and to actually complete at least portions of it for the child.

Another important finding of the study is that the pattern of correlations between specific maternal behaviors and the children's cognitive development varies by ethnic group. In other words, a particular maternal behavior which has one kind of influence on child development for one ethnic group does not necessarily have the same effect or "meaning" for another ethnic group. This finding has important implications. In the absence of empirical evidence obtained in context, it is unwarranted to describe certain adult-child interaction styles as being more or less appropriate or deficient for child development.

By better understanding the specific aspects of the early home environments of children from different ethnic groups, we also are in a stronger position to develop designs for intervention programs and curricula that take into account and capitalize upon the problem-solving, relational and instructional styles and other characteristics and "rules of interaction" that are unique to each group and thus provide an articulated continuity between the home and other institutions. There is an urgent need to take a very close look at the experiences that children from various ethnic minorities encounter in school and at the transitions they are forced to make between the sociocultural context of the home and that of the school, in order to identify the specific areas in which schools could be made more responsive to the unique needs and characteristics of children and their families.

A study of contextual use of language

Linguistic characteristics represent one of the most visible areas of child functioning in which there may be an abrupt discontinuity between the context of the home and that of other settings in which a child may find himself, such as the preschool and the school.

When different cultural or linguistic groups come into contact with one another, varying degrees of bilingualism usually ensue. Bilingual situations may range from instances in which a speaker seldom uses anything but his/her native language through speakers who make use of a second language in varying degrees, to the rarely encountered ambilingual who achieves complete mastery of both languages (Halliday, 1968). In fact, in situations where languages come in contact, languages or language variants sometimes replace each other among some speakers in certain domains of language behavior. One way to determine a particular community's sociolinguistic characteristics is by identifying social domains (Fishman, 1968) in a group (i.e., major spheres of activity in a culture such as family, education, etc.) and obtaining information as to the languages used in the various domains.

I recently conducted an empirical study examining the use of language patterns in specific social contexts among children and adults in their families from three different Hispanic urban groups in the United States: Central Texas Mexican Americans, New York Puerto Ricans, and Miami Cuban Americans. A total of 295 children in the first, second, and third grades and their families participated in the study. The general patternof socioeconomic and educational status of the families in the three ethnic samples was similar to that of average figures found in USA national statistics for each group. The mothers and the teachers of each child were individually interviewed by trained interviewers who were indigenous to the ethnic, linguistic, and geographical group of each interviewee. Information was obtained regarding the language pattern used most often in the home by the child and also by the adults (parents, etc.) in the home (familial language use). In addition, information was obtained regarding the use of language at school in the child's classroom as the principal medium of instruction for the child for classroom subject matters. Because sometimes research using reports as a method of collecting language data may be subject to response bias resulting from normative attitudes which may affect informants' judgments, great care was taken to eliminate this potential source of bias in this study by employing and carefully training only interviewers who were indigenous to each of the ethnic, language, and geographic communities studied.[3]

Results showed that in the overwhelming majority of both the New York Puerto Rican and the Miami Cuban American families, the adults living with the children (parents, etc.) used Spanish as the most frequent means of verbal communication in the home. Among the Central Texas Mexican American families, Spanish-English "mixture" was the single most frequently used language by adults in 50% of the homes, Spanish in one-fourth of the families, and English in the remaining one-fourth. The linguistic nature of language "mixing" has been studied by others. Previous research evidence suggests that the mixture of English and Spanish among Mexican Americans follows a very systematic pattern, and that there is a high degree of "grammaticalness" in the structural and lexical blending and mixture present in the language of Mexican American children.

These findings indicate that there are differences in the language environments to which Hispanic American children are exposed in their homes, depending on the particular ethnic and geographical group to which they belong. Even within a single community there may be significant differences, so as to question the assumption often made implicitly in research and educational policy involving persons from non-English speaking backgrounds that such groups are homogeneous.

In both the New York Puerto Rican and Cuban American groups, the majority of the children used Spanish as the most frequent means of verbal communication in the home. Only about 10% of the children in the Cuban American and the Puerto Rican families, respectively, used English, and almost none mixture, as single most frequent familial language. Among the Central Texas Mexican American children, 30% used mixture in the familial context, 23% used both English and Spanish with equal frequency without mixing, and 45% used English.[4]

What about the language used in these children's classrooms as the medium of instruction for content subjects? With over 90% of the Mexican American and with over 40% of the Cuban American children, the language primarily used as the medium of instruction was English. With about 26% of the Puerto Rican children, the language primarily used as the medium of classroom instruction was English, with 21% it was both English and Spanish with approximately equal frequency, and with 52% Spanish.

Thus we see that in general, except to some extent by the Puerto Rican sample, there were abrupt discontinuities for many of the children between the linguistic environment experienced at home and that found at school as the medium of instruction for subject matter content. It should be pointed out that the Puerto Rican children in the sample employed in this study were in a rather unique school situation which is found infrequently. These Puerto Rican children were exceptional in that they all attended a school which had a principal who was himself Puerto Rican and fully committed to bilingual bicultural education and to providing an educational context in school highly compatible with the children's sociocultural home environment. This situation seems to have had a positive impact on the children's intellectual development, since their performance on a test of general nonverbal intelligence (Raven Coloured Progressive Matrices) was much higher than that of the other groups, even though the Puerto Rican children came from homes with the lowest average socioeconomic level.

It should be noted that classroom instruction through a second language is probably, by itself, not the only or perhaps even the principal reason that so many children from non-English or limited-English-speaking families perform poorly academically. In fact, Anglo English-monolingual children who have been immersed in a Spanish-only program (cf. Cohen & Laosa, in press) in which teachers pretended not to know English and only used Spanish from the beginning of kindergarten, have been found to do as well academically by the end of the third grade as children who go through a regular English program. But for the Anglo children in the Spanish immersion program, language was the only factor which differed significantly and abruptly from the sociocultural context of their homes. It appears that it is the rather abrupt discontinuity in the total sociocultural context -- of which language may only be a part -- which compounded with issues related to attitudes and behaviors from individuals representing the two sociocultural contexts toward each other, that may be at the root of the problems affecting minority group children's academic development.

Conclusions

My intent in this article has been to stress the importance of taking into account the sociocultural contexts which represent the total life space or "ecology" (Bronfenbrenner, 1974) in which each child's development takes place. I have presented research evidence which shows clearly that the early environments of children show quite unique characteristics depending on their membership in particular sociocultural groups -- and that even *within* particular subcultural communities sometimes one may find considerable variability. At times, the same observed behavior, such as a particular teaching strategy, for example, may have quite a different "meaning" in terms of its influence on children's development depending on the sociocultural context in which it occurs. The findings I have presented raise serious questions concerning whether institutions and other environments which we impose on children are so designed as to provide sufficient *articulated continuity with the early and on-going sociocultural environment of the home*. There is still much we do not know about the total ecologies of children in the various cultural groups living side by side in our pluralistic society. We are just beginning to catch a glimpse of the rich and complex variability present in our changing nation as it begins its third century.

Content Footnotes

1. The term Mexican American as employed here refers to persons who were born in Mexico and now hold United States citizenship or otherwise live in the United States, or whose parents or more remote ancestors immigrated to the United States from Mexico. It also refers to persons who trace their lineage to Hispanic or Indo-Hispanic forebears who resided within Spanish or Mexican territory that is now part of southwestern United States. A recent US Bureau of the Census report (1974) shows the total number of persons of Spanish origin in the United States in 1973 to be over 10.5 million. Of these, 6.3 million are Mexican American, 1.5 million Puerto Rican, and .7 million Cuban American. The remainder are of Central, South American, or other Spanish origin.
2. The term Anglo American as used here refers to white native United States English-speaking persons who are not Mexican American or members of other Hispanic groups.
3. For a more detailed description of the study, see Laosa, 1975a.
4. The relatively greater use of English among the Mexican American than among the Puerto Rican or Cuban American families can be explained by two principal factors. As a group, Mexican Americans in southwestern United States have experienced contact with the English language more intensely and for a much longer period than either of the other two groups. Moreover, Mexican Americans have experienced great pressures to give up their native language for English. In fact, the southwest has a long history of prohibiting the speaking of Spanish in schools (Carter, 1970) and of using various forms of punishment to enforce the

"No Spanish Rule." Only recently has this situation begun to change with the large-scale implementation of bilingual education programs.

Caution should be exercised when generalizing the language use findings of this study to different geographical regions. Thus, for example, the traveler across the southwestern United States will note differences in language use among Mexican American communities depending on such factors as relative proximity to the USA-Mexico border. Therefore, data should be collected for each community of interest.

Reference List

Bronfenbrenner, U. Developmental research, public policy, and the ecology of childhood. Child Development, 1974, 45, 1-5.

Cardenas, B. & Cardenas, J. A. Chicano--Bright eyed, bilingual, brown, and beautiful. Today's Education, 1973, 62, 49-51.

Carter, T. P. Mexican Americans in schools: A history of educational neglect. New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1970.

Cohen, A. D. & Laosa, L. M. Second Language Instruction: Some research consideration. Journal of Curriculum Studies, in press.

Cole, M. & Bruner, J. S. Cultural differences and inferences about psychological processes. American Psychologist, 1971, 26, 867-876.

Fishman, J. Sociolinguistic perspective on the study of bilingualism. Linguistics, 1968, 39, 21-49.

Getzels, J. W. Socialization and education: A note on discontinuities. Teachers College Record, 1974, 76, 218-225.

Halliday, M. A. K. The users and uses of language. In J. A. Fishman (Ed.), Readings in the sociology of language, The Hague: Mouton, 1968, 139-169.

Kleinfeld, J. S. Intellectual strengths in culturally different groups: An Eskimo illustration. Review of Educational Research, 1973, 43, 341-359.

Laosa, L. M. Child care and the culturally different child. Child Care Quarterly, 1974, 3, 214-224. (a)

Laosa, L. M. Toward a research model of multicultural competency-based teacher education. In W. A. Hunter (Ed.), Multicultural Education through competency-based teacher education, Washington, D.C.: American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, 1974. (b)

Laosa, L. M. Bilingualism in three United States Hispanic groups: Contextual use of language by children and adults in their families. Journal of Educational Psychology, 1975, 67, 617-627. (a)

Laosa, L. M. What languages do bilingual children speak with whom? Research evidence and implications for education. Invited paper presented at the Annual Convention of Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL), Los Angeles, March 1975. (b)

Lesser, G. S., Fifer, G., & Clark, D. H. Mental abilities of children from different social class and cultural groups. Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, 1955, 30 (4).

Tulkin, S. R. An analysis of the concept of cultural deprivation. *Developmental Psychology*, 1972, *6*, 326-339.

U. S. Bureau of the Census. Persons of Spanish origin in the U.S.: March 1973. *Current population reports*, 1974, Series P-20. No. 264. U.S. Government Printing Office, Division of Public Documents, Washington, D. C.

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. *The unfinished education*. *Report II of the Mexican American educational series*. Washington, D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971.

CULTURALLY RESPONSIVE EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION PROGRAMS FOR NON-ENGLISH SPEAKING CHILDREN

Theresa Escobedo

University of Texas at Austin

CULTURALLY RESPONSIVE EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION PROGRAMS FOR NON-ENGLISH SPEAKING CHILDREN

INTRODUCTION

The identification and analysis of culturally responsive programs for young children necessitates that a basic definition of "culturally responsive" be established. This definition is based on the sociological term "culture" which is taken to mean "social heritage, that is, all the knowledge, beliefs, customs, and skills that are available to the members of a society" (Broom and Selznick, 1970, p. 50). This connotation then includes all that is familiar and has varying degrees of value: food, music, language, etc. This cultural knowledge affects the way a child behaves, believes and assesses himself as a satisfactory or unsatisfactory individual (Margolin, 1974). That critical part of personality, the self concept, is vitally influenced by culture. Viewed from this perspective culturally responsive Early Childhood Education programs are those which incorporate the child's native language and cultural knowledge as part of the curriculum. In addition, consideration is given to the child's development in terms of relationships between self concept, culture, and achievement.

The importance of an educational system that responds to students' needs is given much credence by the writings of such humanistic psychologists as Combs (1959) and Maslow (1954). When viewed in terms of Maslow's hierarchy, the needs of non-English-speaking students who face a new culture upon entering school are related much more to security and acceptance than to fulfillment or grades. Security is an urgent need for all children at this stage but the task becomes more difficult when the language is not understood and the surroundings are strange. There is little inclination to achieve until some sense of belonging has been established. The pressures of becoming a part of a second culture, or of acculturation, have caused students to express confusion, fear, or a sense of frustration (Litsinger, 1973). Leaving the familiarity and support of the home environment for the strange classroom in which he must learn to make his own way is an immense task for any child. For the culturally different child who in some cases faces a completely alien environment at school, the task may seem insurmountable. This stress felt by children may allow little energy for academic endeavor. There is a limit to the amount of stress that can be assimilated before the debilitating effects of excessive anxiety set in (Brophy, 1975). The young child needs an environment that does not make inordinate demands in order to develop a healthy self concept and a sense of being able to do. It is during the first six years of life that a child develops a basic sense of trust, autonomy, and initiative (Erikson, 1963). It is during the latter part of this age period that children enter early childhood programs and are in need of supportive, culturally responsive environments to foster positive attitudes towards school and self.

The lack of culturally responsive programs in the past has caused some educators to criticize the educational system for not implementing such programs. The failure of minority students to achieve in schools was attributed to this lack of relevant programs (Carter, 1970; Ulibarri, 1970; Samora, 1963). The early childhood programs developed in the 60's were implemented as intervention programs to compensate for certain cognitive and motivational deficits viewed as characteristics of these "disadvantaged" children. The children who attended these programs were almost exclusively poor and frequently they were from racial minorities. Thus the deficit idea included culture and cultural differences were equated with cultural deficiencies. A change in thinking has occurred and ethnic, racial or social class differences are now seen less as deficiencies and more as differences to be accommodated to in the schools (Evans, 1975).

Legislation providing for Bilingual/Bicultural education is indicative of the trend toward cultural pluralism and reflects the acceptance of cultural differences as valued basis for development of programs. However in the area of early childhood there are few distinct model programs established as part of Bilingual Programs that are described in the literature. It is the Head Start and Follow Through projects that have developed distinct curriculum models consistent with various philosophies of child growth and that employ specific educational strategies that can be identified and discussed in terms of cultural responsiveness. These programs will be discussed in the next section.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The relevant literature for this paper included some of the research related to the self concept and children's ability to perform in school since development of a positive self concept was defined as part of a culturally responsive program. Early childhood model programs were reviewed in terms of the degree of cultural responsiveness. Final evaluation reports of some Bilingual programs that included data for kindergartens and primary grades were also reviewed.

Self Concept and Achievement

There were numerous studies indicating a direct relationship between the self concept and academic achievement (Campbell, 1965; Bledsoe, 1967). One of the most extensive studies of the self concept of ability and school success was conducted by Brookover (1967) and his associates over a six-year period. This was a longitudinal study of the relation between the self concept of academic ability and school achievement among students in one school class while in the seventh through twelfth grades. The researchers concluded there was a significant relationship between self concept and academic achievement. Another conclusion was that human ability may not be the most important factor in achievement as the study indicated that students' attitudes were a limiting factor.

Lamy (1965) found that the perceptions children developed about themselves in kindergarten were related to subsequent reading achievement in first grade. Studies also indicated that self concept influenced social learnings. Barnett (1957) reported that feelings of inadequacy among bright underachievers acted as depressors which caused them to withdraw and refuse to compete. The conclusions were not only that attitudes about himself affect how a child performs at school but also that performance has a heavy impact on the self concept as verified by the following research. Gibby and Gibby (1967) explored the effects of stress resulting from failure upon the self concept and intellectual productivity of sixty students in two seventh grade classes established for bright, academically superior white children. One class was used as a control group and the other as the experimental group. Academically oriented tests were administered to both classes on two different occasions three days apart. Immediately before the last testing, members of the experimental group were given slips of paper indicating they had failed the first test. Comparison of the scores of the experimental group and the control group indicated that under the stress of failure the experimental group performed less effectively. The experimental group also tended to regard themselves less highly and showed a decrease in intellectual productivity.

The relationship between ethnicity and self concept has been investigated by several researchers (Carter, 1968; G. Palomares, 1970; Zirkel and Greene, 1971). In a preliminary study it was established that self concept was related to ethnic group membership and that Puerto Rican children exhibited significantly lower self concept than Black or White children. These results were negated when a teacher-rating instrument was employed in conjunction with a self-rating instrument (Zirkel, 1971).

In another study comparing 552 non-Mexican American and Mexican American students in grades three and six in five urban California schools, Gustafson (1971) using the Coopersmith's Self Esteem Inventory found no difference in the third grade between Mexican Americans and non-Mexican Americans. However, the non-Mexican Americans had significantly higher scores at the sixth grade level suggesting that the trend of difference becomes cumulative. Differences between the ethnic categories in self esteem and academic performance that are inconsistent at the third grade level become dominant at the sixth grade level.

Geraldine Palomares (1970), in her examination of existing literature regarding the self concept of Mexican Americans, found that studies in this area were not in agreement. While one study showed Mexican Americans as having lower self concepts, others failed to show any significant difference.

The major theme emerging from the above discussion is that self concept and ability to achieve are interacting and one influences the other. The impact shown of attitudes toward self at an early age upon subsequent achievement is of vital concern to those interested in early childhood education. How these two theoretical ideas are incorporated into practical application by program planners is determined by notions of learning theory and will be discussed with specific model programs. Bilingual/Bicultural programs approach the education of young children from the premise that by utilizing the language the child already knows, the child will more likely achieve successfully and this success in turn will enhance the self concept. How Bilingual/Bicultural programs affect the cultural knowledge and self concept of children is an area that is yet to be revealed by studies of such programs being currently implemented.

Model Early Childhood Education Programs

A review of some of the outstanding Head Start and Follow Through curriculum models and the degree to which they can be considered culturally responsive is undertaken in this paper to present a general view of alternative approaches in early childhood education. These curriculum models are distinguished by different guiding concepts of child development and principles of education. The models are divided into three categories that reflect distinct philosophies or assumptions about child development and learning. A brief description of maturationist, cognitive developmentalist and experimentalist philosophies is included in the review of the models below. The models are discussed in terms of cultural responsiveness in relationship to target population, cultural knowledge, the language program implemented, and development of self esteem.

Maturationist philosophy expounds the belief that children develop as a whole person at different rates and pass through stages or periods during which certain skills or attributes are developed. The child possesses the genetic potential for this development and given the proper environment this development will occur when the child arrives at a given period of maturation. Children are intrinsically motivated to learn and need an environment that provides many experiences and the freedom to choose the experiences that are in congruence with their interest and period of readiness. Learning objectives are the outcome of the transactions between a teacher and children working as joint decision makers. Children are trusted and respected for their individual differences and highly individualized activities are provided to meet these differences (Evans, 1975). The term open education is associated with the educational ideas of maturationist philosophy.

Two Head Start and Follow Through curriculum models, the Bank Street model and the Tucson Early Education Model (TEEM), are usually associated with the open education concept and utilize the interest center concept and individualized instruction. The Tucson Early Education Model wad selected for discussion because it originated as a program for Mexican American students in first through third grades in Tucson, Arizona. It was later expanded to include preschool through third grade for Head Start and Follow Through classes with children of all ethnic and cultural backgrounds and implemented in twenty school systems across the country (Chow, 1973).

The classroom activities are directed toward development of the program's major objectives: language competence, intellectual base, motivational base, and societal arts and skills. The variety of skills which reflect these objectives are never exercised separately but are taught in combination and defined as orchestration. Most lessons are conducted in small groups of about five children allowing for close teacher-student interaction. Children are encouraged to verbalize, handle objects and to participate in demonstrations as it is believed that in order to learn students must have the opportunity to actively engage in a variety of behaviors. Students often work in small groups called committees but have the option of leaving the group and going to the free choice centers. Opportunities are provided for the development of a wide variety of skills through modelling (Spodek, 1973). Individualization of instruction is one of the most important variables and provision is made for development of individual skills at individual rates. Cultural background, attitudes, and values of the children are incorporated into self selected and structured activities to further instructional objectives (Evans, 1975). This adaptation to local populations is recognition that children develop skills and attitudes that are appropriate to their own home and neighborhoods though they may differ from those of the main society. A continuation of these values and attitudes is encouraged in the classroom.

"Language competence is one of the major technical skills of the culture to which the child must adapt" (Spodek, 1973, p. 232). This adaptation refers to children learning the official language of this country and no reference was found that indicated that any of the model's classrooms use a bilingual approach to language instruction. "Language lift" is often used to describe the language development method for early education employed by TEEM. This method is based on the utilization of children's "natural language learning" (Evans, 1975). This approach adheres to the assumptions that rich experiences in language stimulation, opportunities for language expression, and exposure to appropriate syntactic structures will better activate children's normal biological capacity for language. For exposure to occur language communications must be directed toward children to which they can respond. Teachers must model a variety of basic sentence structures in appropriate situations to raise children's language production. Children derive language rules from hearing and producing language, and the child's spontaneous language is used to develop literacy skills. The program has no language materials and lessons are not based on objectives, sequence, or timing. The success of the program depends on the teacher who must be conscious of being a modeler of language and possess a firm knowledge of the syntactic structure being modeled (Evans, 1975).

Data about specific academic skill development to evaluate the TEEM language model are not available at this time. Comparison of TEEM children with local classes has shown strong evidence in favor of TEEM children on social-affective behaviors. Children in TEEM classrooms maintain a task-orientation better than those in the comparison classes. TEEM children generally had better cognitive gains based on word knowledge, visual and verbal memory, conceptual grouping, number questions, and reason by analogy (Evans, 1975).

Cognitive developmentalist philosophy adheres closely to Piaget's theories of the stages of child development and much emphasis is placed on the development of mental structures. The evolution of a child's cognitive structures progresses through a distinct sequence beginning with sensory-motor coordination and ending with formal reasoning ability, logical thought in objective, abstract, hypothetical terms. Among factors which influence this progression are neurological maturation, in harmony with physical and social experiences, and equilibration, the process by which a child seeks greater cognitive balance at higher levels as new learnings occur. This seeking for balance or meaning makes a child an active learner who profits from active discovery, concrete sensory experience, interpersonal interactions with other children, and a variety of models for imitative learning (Evans, 1975). American cognitive developmentalists who have also contributed to this approach are J. McV. Hunt, Benjamin Bloom, and William Fowler.

The Responsive Environment Model Program developed by Far West Laboratory was chosen as representative of this particular approach because it is mostly influenced by the work of cognitive developmentalists, although it is considered to be basically eclectic (Chow, 1973). This model is based on the assumption that public schools are not responding to children as individuals with different cultural backgrounds and that if "culturally different children are to thrive either they must be helped to operate in a system designed for others, or the system itself must be changed to serve all children equally" (Nimnicht, 1973). The program was initiated at Colorado State College in 1964 as the New Nursery School to meet the needs of ethnically different children, mainly Mexican American and Black. It was later started as the Responsive Environment Model at Far West Laboratory by Glen Nimnicht, the original founder of the program, and presently the developers are sponsoring Head Start and Follow Through classes around the country (Chow, 1973). The target population in addition to Black and Mexican American children has included other Spanish-speaking children, American Indian, Oriental and Anglo middle-class children (Nimnicht, 1973).

The acquisition of specific skills is not stressed, rather a learning to learn approach encouraged. Classroom activities are organized around a designed environment that responds to the needs of children and provides immediate feedback. This is accomplished by the use of self-correcting toys and by the actions of the teacher who waits for the child to express an interest and then works with an individual child or a small group on the chosen task. The ability to solve problems is stated as being the major goal of intellectual development. This goal is partly accomplished by the autotelic games and toys that allow children to work independently or in small groups. A wide variety of educational toys and games as well as programmed material and simple machines are considered necessary to provide a wide range of educational experiences. There are two short periods during the day for total group activities such as music or story time, but for the most part the work is done on an individualized basis between teacher and child (Chow, 1973).

A major objective of the program is to help children develop a positive self concept as it relates to learning in the school and in the home. A child is seen as having a positive self image if he likes himself and his people, believes in himself and his ability to solve problems, and expresses feelings of pleasure and enjoyment. This view of himself will affect his attendance and his performance at school (Nimnicht, 1972).

Another important objective of the Responsive Environment Model is that the child possesses a knowledge and understanding of his cultural background. Culturally relevant materials are provided by the local program and the core materials that have no cultural bias are provided by the Laboratory. The involvement of parents, even at the decision making level, also contributes to the cultural responsiveness of the program (Nimnicht, 1973).

There is no specific language development materials nor method required by the Laboratory. The local programs are free to incorporate materials that are consistent with the philosophy of the model such as the Lavatelli materials and the Project Life Program (Language Improvement to Facilitate Education) employed by the Responsive Environment Project for Spanish American children, a model classroom in Clovis, New Mexico (Askins, 1974). This project was adapted to bilingual education.

The Laboratory does not anticipate a final evaluation of the first phase of the total program for at least five years (Nimnicht, 1972).

Experimentalist Philosophy, which is also known as Environmentalist, relies almost totally on the theories of the Behaviorist psychology of Skinner. The emphasis of this science is on observable behavior and its relationship with other observable phenomena. Experimentalist philosophy has been greatly influenced by the extensive body of research with animals and humans in laboratories. The child might essentially be considered a system of interrelated responses interacting with stimuli and a major assumption is that the behavior of a child is determined by external stimuli. By carefully specifying the goals of education in observable behavior and by controlling the stimuli in the environment, a child's behavior can be modified to coincide with the stated goals. Learning is facilitated when concepts and skills are broken up into small discrete steps and are carefully sequenced. Associative thinking, memorization, is relied upon heavily and discrimination and categorization are learned as a result of association (Spodek, 1973).

The classic example of this theory is the Engelmann-Becker or Engelmann-Bereiter Academic Preschool which is now also a Follow Through model with preschool through third grade classrooms across the country. The target population for this model are "disadvantaged" children without regard to ethnicity.

The goal of this model is the development of skills in language, reading, and math. The Distar Materials, used to achieve these skills, provide sequenced, structured lessons. The preschool language program is built around three daily 20 minute sessions of intensive direct instruction characterized by fast pace, heavy work demands, and strong emphasis on verbal responses. Children are taught in small, homogeneous groups of from three to eight, seated close to the teacher who uses much verbal praise as reinforcement for desired responses. Verbatim directions are provided for the teacher (Chow, 1973).

Cultural knowledge or activities are not mentioned and a positive self concept is seen as dependent on success. By utilizing direct instruction and developing academic skills to insure success it is assumed that a positive self image will result. A number of studies cited by Stanley (1972) indicate that this program has had more short range impact on I.Q. and achievement scores than the traditional child-centered approach.

Another model program that is eclectic in its approach, although influenced by the theories of Jerome Kagan, is the Bilingual Early Childhood Program developed by Southwest Educational Development Laboratory. The program developed for Mexican American children stresses verbal and reasoning skills and healthy self concepts. (There is a counterpart for Black children.) (Chow, 1973). The language program is based on a three-level curriculum based upon mastery of English. The sequence and ratio in amount of English and Spanish used is geared to program level. A variety of teaching methods, instructional settings, media, and content are used (Evans, 1975).

In addition to including Spanish for instruction, the program places a strong emphasis upon children's native heritage. Many cultural aspects are included, such as dances, music, relevant pictures, etc.

Evaluation data based on 169 classrooms in Texas and Colorado indicate that approximately 75 percent of the participating children achieve criterion mastery of program goals. Additional gains in English and Spanish comprehension as well as increased cognitive skills are reported.

Final Evaluation Reports of Bilingual Programs

The definition of culturally responsive programs was stated previously in this paper as those programs that include a child's native language and cultural knowledge as part of the curriculum with due consideration given to development of a positive self concept. The following bilingual programs are briefly reviewed with this definition in mind.

An ERIC search for literature related to culturally responsive and bilingual early childhood programs yielded only two evaluation reports for such programs. Cox (1974) summarized the findings for the Caribou Bilingual Project, Caribou, Maine, final evaluation report of 1973-1974. This was an English-French program that involved two classes each of kindergarten, first grade and second grade. A major conclusion was that students in the bilingual program performed as well as students in nonprogram classes. Therefore, skill acquisition by students was not hindered by education in two languages (Cox, 1974).

The Yupik Bilingual Education Project of the Alaska State-Operated School System, a program that utilizes English and Yupik Eskimo, completed its second year in 1973. Thirteen classrooms in six schools comprised the experimental group. Instruction was conducted in the native language and English was taught as a Second Language (ESL). The major focus was on developing language skills, although literacy and numerical skills were also measured and results included in the report. The statistical analysis compared scores of the students in the bilingual classrooms with those of comparison students in traditional classrooms. The scores for literacy skills and math show that bilingual program children's scores were substantially higher, although not statistically, than those of non-bilingual program children. In linguistic skills the Yupik scores of bilingual program students were significantly higher than the comparison group scores. The English scores for the bilingual program students were greater than the non-bilingual students but not significantly greater. The program report did not indicate any planned emphasis on self concept development or cultural knowledge (Orvik, 1973).

The Austin Independent School District evaluation reports for the school year 1974 to 1975 provided information on data collected for the ESEA Title VII Bilingual Project and the ESAA Bilingual/Bicultural Project (Holley, 1975). The evaluation design for both projects was based upon the Austin Independent School District's C.I.P.O. (Context, Inputs, Processes, and Outcomes). This paper utilized only the student outcome data for the development of language (English and Spanish), attitudes toward school, and self concept. Only data obtained from children in kindergarten to first grade were used in this paper in keeping with the emphasis on early childhood education. The data for the process objective, cultural reference, were also utilized in relation to the cultural knowledge aspect of this paper.

The major components of both ESEA Title VII Bilingual and ESAA Bilingual/Bicultural projects in addition to Instruction were Staff Development, Curriculum Development, Parent Involvement, and Evaluation. The Bilingual Education Model utilized by both projects is based on the Statewide Design for Bilingual Education adopted by the State Board of Education and the AISD School Board Policy on Bilingual/Multicultural Education. This model is described as an instructional program encompassing the total educational process in which English and Spanish are utilized for a portion of all the curriculum. The amount of time given to each of the languages in content areas and language instruction is commensurate with the individual needs of students. Teaching of concepts is undertaken entirely in the first language and all students were tested for language dominance by use of the James or PAL Language Dominance Test. A vital part of the program of bilingual instruction is the teaching of the cultural heritage of the people whose languages are used and includes their contributions to the community, the state, and the country.

This was the second program year for ESAA Bilingual/Bicultural program in the Austin school system. The number of students participating was 1,400 distributed in four elementary schools, grades kindergarten through fifth grade, and the sixth grade at two junior high schools. These schools had the highest concentration of Spanish dominant Mexican American students in the district. The ethnic composition of students participating in this project was 83 percent Mexican American, 15 percent Black, and 4 percent Anglo.

The ESAA Bilingual/Bicultural 1974-1975 final evaluation reported significant gain at the .05 level of confidence in Language Proficiency for both English and Spanish by kindergarten and first grade project students. This information was based on pre-test post-test scores obtained by use of the James or PAL Language Dominance Test.

Kindergarten children tested on the Primary Self Concept Inventory demonstrated a significant gain at the .05 level of confidence on pretest posttest evaluation of data. (Third and fourth grade student scores showed no significant change.)

The School Sentiment Index was used to measure attitudes toward school of third and fourth grade students. No significant change was measured in these students and kindergarten and first grade students were not included in this area of measurement.

The Cultural Reference objective was not achieved. This objective was measured by Teacher Questionnaire. Level of Attainment was contingent on 80 percent of teachers mentioning at least two methods used to incorporate culture and home background of students into classroom activities.

Title VII Bilingual Program, in its first year of operations, was established in sixteen schools. The Title VII Project was built into the locally sponsored bilingual program started in 1970 at the kindergarten level. One grade level had been added each year so that Title VII encompassed the five grades planned for bilingual instruction through the natural progression of the local program. Therefore, some students in the Title VII project had been receiving Spanish instruction since kindergarten. The number of students participating in the Title VII Bilingual project, grades kindergarten through sixth grade, was 2,406. The ethnic composition of these students was 59 percent Mexican American, 10 percent Black, and 31 percent Anglo.

Title VII Bilingual Project final evaluation report for 1974-1975 reported significant gain at the .05 level of confidence for kindergarten and first grade project students on Language Proficiency test scores as measured by the James or PAL Language dominance test. Both English and Spanish pretest posttest differences were significant ($p. < .05$).

Self concept scores on the Primary Self-Concept Inventory demonstrated no significant gain for kindergarten students. (Third and fourth grade student scores were significant.)

Attitude toward school was not measured for kindergarten and first grade. Third and fourth grade student scores showed no significant differences on attitude toward school.

Cultural References were measured by Teacher Questionnaire and classroom observations. The desired level of cultural references was reached (Holley, 1975).

The Education Service Center, Region XIII, has operated the Bilingual Classroom Project since 1969. There are classrooms on three different school campuses from first through fifth grade. The 1975 final evaluation report included test measures on self concept, cultural knowledge, and cultural attitudes for first grade students (Saenz, 1975).

The Cultural Attitude and Knowledge test scores were obtained by the Cultural Attitude Scale. Reading is not required as this instrument is based upon pictorial stimuli and response options. It can be administered in English and Spanish. Student pre and post scores were significantly different on attitude toward the Mexican American culture but no significant difference was noted for gain in knowledge of Mexican American culture.

Self concept was measured by Your School and Classmates instrument. The results indicated that first grade students scored significantly higher on the posttest than on the pretest (Saenz, 1975).

A library search of final bilingual reports turned in to the Bilingual Department of the Texas Education Agency by school districts in the state revealed that few school districts named development of positive concept as an objective. The few that did seldom used test instruments to obtain pre, posttest data. The Dallas Independent School District did employ an evaluation design that measured attitudes toward self.

The School Perception Scale was used to obtain scores for kindergarten and first grade students randomly selected in the Dallas study. The analysis of kindergarten data revealed that English dominant Mexican American children displayed more favorable attitudes towards self, school, and reading than other children in the Bilingual Education Program. The differences between English and Spanish dominant Mexican American children were large enough to be statistically significant. This finding was viewed as supporting the contention of bilingual program supporters who maintain that linguistically limited children suffer from low attitudes toward self and school (Murray, 1975).

Grade one data showed no significant differences between any of the groups. The improvement in the Spanish dominant Mexican American children's attitude from kindergarten to first grade cannot be interpreted as being a result of Bilingual instruction since this was not a longitudinal study. However, the report indicated that student involvement in the Bilingual program should not be ruled out as a possible explanation for the improvement.

The English as a Second Language (ESL) test was given to a random sample of Spanish dominant Mexican American bilingual students. The Spanish as a Second Language (SSL) test was given to a random sample of English dominant Bilingual Program students. Statistically significant pre to posttest gains were made at all grade levels for both groups on ESL and SSL tests (Murray, 1975).

SYNTHESIS OF LITERARY RESEARCH

Findings of the literature cited included the theories of psychologists that demonstrate the importance of helping children to develop positive attitudes related to themselves (Maslow, 1954; Combs, 1959; Erickson, 1963; Brophy, 1975). Empirical research indicated that these attitudes did in fact, affect student ability to perform in school (Lamy, 1965; Gibby, 1967; Brookover, 1967). However, research findings of the relationship between self concept and ethnicity were inconsistent and conflicting (G. Palomares, 1970; Gustafson, 1971; Zirkel, 1971).

The renewed interest in early childhood has been characterized by an emphasis on perceptual, cognitive, and intellectual functions as well as social and emotional. This was demonstrated by the alternative curriculum models discussed representative of the three different philosophical theories maturationist, cognitive developmentalist, and experimentalist.

The philosophical theory behind the models discussed seemed to correlate with the degree of cultural responsiveness evidenced. The experimentalist model, Engelman Becker, with its emphasis on academic skills acquisition seemed to give little considerations to native language, cultural knowledge, ethnicity, or self concept development. The maturationist model, Tucson Early Education Model, originated as a program for Mexican American children and regard was given to development of self esteem and cultural knowledge. These features seem to indicate that this model was perhaps more responsive, although utilization of the students' native language was not included. Two programs seemed to meet the criteria set for culturally responsive programs: utilization of the native language, regard for development of self esteem, and cultural knowledge. These were the cognitive developmentalist Responsive Environment Model and the eclectic Bilingual Early Childhood Program.

Six bilingual programs currently being implemented were reviewed. Two reviews are based on information found in a literary search and four on final evaluation reports obtained directly from the school districts or from other agencies. The Caribou Bilingual Project and the Yupik Bilingual Education Project utilized the native language in the instruction but made no provision for development of self esteem or cultural knowledge. The evaluation reports of the projects implemented by the Austin and Dallas Independent School

Districts and the Education Service Center, Region XIII, included development of native as well as secondary language, cultural knowledge, and positive self concept evaluation results. All six projects utilized formative measures of the program progress as well as summative measures in the evaluation design.

The great number of early childhood programs based on curriculum models adhering to different theories and utilizing different educational methods was regarded as a strength to the educational system. The fact that two such models could be considered culturally responsive was heartening. However, concrete data indicating that these programs are best suited to the learning styles of any group of non-English speaking students are now available at the present.

Castañeda and Ramirez (1975) have formulated a theory that Mexican American children prefer a "field sensitive" cognitive style as opposed to a "field independent." Field sensitive children learn best when there is close interaction with a warm supportive teacher who models problem solving strategies and then stresses application of general rules. These students' attention is first focused on the global characteristics of a situation and work well in small, cooperative groups. One can infer that these characteristics can be applied to the Tucson Early Education Model or the Responsive Environment Model.

Present research on comparison of different programs relative to effectiveness with the general preschool population indicates that no single program is generally superior across a variety of measures (Beller, 1971; Weikart, 1970). Some studies demonstrate that carefully designed and implemented programs have no immediate or short range benefits, but produce long range benefits for the experimental students. Others show short range but not long range benefits for the experimental group (Brophy, 1975). Beller

(1971) indicates that long range effects for the less structured Weikart program, cognitive development, are more evident than for the highly structured Distar language program. The results were based on scores on the Stanford-Binet Test and the California Achievement Test. Programs that included a systematic parent involvement component seemed more effective in producing and maintaining gain (Evans, 1975).

Information on early childhood bilingual education programs is difficult to locate, as evidenced by the small number of findings produced by the ERIC search. Some bilingual programs are part of other early childhood models, such as the Responsive Environment Project for Spanish American Children (Askins, 1974) and many Bilingual Programs include early childhood classrooms (four to six year old children). But early childhood bilingual education is not reported as such in the literature nor are culturally responsive programs.

The results of longitudinal studies of the nature of the St. Lambert experiment involving children who attended bilingual preschool classes, that could be considered culturally responsive, are not available in the literature. Short range results such as those reported by the current Bilingual Programs reviewed seem to indicate that students learn more Spanish and just as much English as those students in non-bilingual classes. The Bilingual Early Childhood Program reported a substantial gain in language, both English and Spanish. The final evaluation report reviewed also seemed to indicate an increase in student self esteem for many of the classes, although it was not consistent with all classes.

Research studies comparing early childhood bilingual projects that have similar objectives but distinct theories and methods were not apparent in the literary search nor were projects with distinct methods oriented toward determining cognitive styles of culturally different children.

IMPLICATIONS

The effect of positive attitudes toward self upon ability to perform academically has been clearly demonstrated. That these attitudes are established early in life and are affected by a child's total experience indicate the need for culturally responsive early childhood programs. Since a child's language is a vital part of his heritage and instruction in that language will give greater assurance of initial school success, thus not only aiding development of academic skills but a positive self image as well, a child's native language should be utilized in a culturally responsive early childhood program for non-English speaking children. These programs should not be viewed as compensating for deficiencies in the child, but as means of meeting unique needs and should become part of the standard educational program.

Research has shown that Mexican American students prefer a cognitive style that seems to coincide with the methods employed by the less structured curriculum models. Incorporation of these methods into an early childhood, culturally responsive, experimental model would give information as to the practicality of the theory and further insight into the influence of culture upon cognitive styles.

Recent reports of longitudinal studies indicate that some early childhood programs that showed no short range benefits did produce long range benefits for the experimental group. These findings as well as the Weikart study, reported by Beller (1971), concerning long range effects point to the importance of compiling long range data for culturally responsive programs for non-English speaking children. The salient influence of parents on the effectiveness of programs should also be given serious consideration.

NEED

It is the consensus of investigators in the field of early childhood education that much needs to be further explored by means of empirical research. The area of early childhood bilingual education is perhaps in greater need of research to determine what effects such culturally responsive programs have on non-English speaking children. Long range and short range effects of these programs on a child's development of cultural knowledge and self esteem as well as academic achievement need to be addressed. Evans (1975) indicates that the response to critical measurement needs produced by the recent research emphasis on early childhood education has created a number of new measurement instruments. Many of these instruments are inadequately field tested. The area of early childhood bilingual education is in a similar situation. Further studies in this area would provide opportunities for further field testing of these measurement instruments.

Comparison studies of experimental early childhood bilingual projects utilizing distinct methods are needed to determine not only the effectiveness of different approaches, but also to determine to what extent culturally bound cognitive styles exist in non-English speaking children. How these styles affect the child's ability to perform in different educational settings, in the acquisition of academic skills as well as social and emotional skills, would provide data that could be utilized to develop more effective culturally responsive programs.

References

Askins, William, et. al. Clovis-Portales Bilingual Early Childhood Program: Second Year Evaluation Report. Responsive Environment Project for Spanish American Children, 1974, ED 103 108.

Barnett, Helen. "An Intensive Study of Thirty Two Gifted Children." Personnel and Guidance Journal, 36 (March 1957), 192-94.

Beller, E. Kuno. "Research on Organized Programs of Early Education." Second Handbook of Research on Teaching. Edited by Robert M. W. Travers. Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Company, 1973.

Bledsoe, John. "Self-Concept of Children and Their Intelligence, Achievement, Interests, and Anxiety." Childhood Education, 43 (July 1967), 436-438.

Brookover, W. B.; Erickson, E. L.; and Joiner, L. M. Self-Concept of Ability and School Achievement. Report III: "Relationships of Self-Concept to Achievement in High School." U. S. Office of Education, Cooperative Research Project No. 2831. East Lansing: Office of Research and Publications, Michigan State University, 1967.

Broom, Leonard; and Selznick. Principles of Sociology: A Text with Adapted Readings. 4th ed. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, Inc., 1970.

Brophy, Jere E.; Good, Thomas L.; and Nedler, Shari. Teaching in the Preschool. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1975.

Campbell, Paul B. "Self-Concept and Academic Achievement in Middle Grade Public School Children." Dissertation Abstracts, 27 (October 1966), 979A-980A.

Carter, Thomas P. "The Negative Self-Concept of Mexican American Students." School and Society, 96 (March 1968), 217-219.

__________. Mexican Americans in School: A History of Educational Neglect. New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1970.

Castañeda, Alfredo; Ramirez, Manuel, III; and Arnold, P. Leslie. New Approaches to Bilingual, Bicultural Education. Austin: The Dissemination and Assessment Center for Bilingual Education, 1975.

Chow, Stanley, et. al. "Early Childhood Education." Washington, D. C.: National Institute of Education, 1972. ED 067 516.

Combs, A. W.; Snygg, D. Individual Behavior: A Perceptual Approach to Behavior. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959.

Cox, Lorraine. "Caribou Bilingual Project: Final Evaluation Report, 1973-1974." Caribou School Department, Maine. Washington, D.C.: Office of Education, 1974. ED 105 746.

Erikson, E. Childhood and Society. (2nd ed.) New York: Norton, 1963.

Evans, Ellis D. Contemporary Influences in Early Childhood Education. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1975.

Gibby, R. G., Sr. and Gibby, R. G., Jr. "The Effects of Stress Resulting from Academic Failure." Journal of Clinical Psychology, 23 (May 1967), 35-37.

Gustafson, Richard A. and Owens, Thomas R. "The Self-Concept of Mexican American Youngsters and Related Environmental Characteristics." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the California Educational Research Association, San Diego, California, April 1971. ED 053 195.

Holley, Freda M. Final Evaluation Report: ESEA Title VII Bilingual Project, 1974-1975. Austin: Austin Independent School District, 1975.

__________. Final Evaluation Report: ESAA Bilingual/Bicultural Project, 1974-1975. Austin: Austin Independent School District, 1975.

Lamy, M. W. "Relationship of Self-Perceptions of Early Primary Children to Achievement in Reading." Human Development: Readings in Research. Edited by I. J. Gordon. Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1965.

Litsinger, Dolores Escobar. The Challenge of Teaching Mexican American Students. New York: American Book Company, 1973.

Mangolin, Edythe. Sociocultural Elements in Early Childhood. New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1974.

Maslow, A. H. Motivation and Personality. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1954.

Murray, Wayne R. Evaluation Report for the Bilingual Education Program, 1974-75. Dallas: Dallas Independent School District, 1975.

Nimnicht, Glen. "A Model Program for Young Children that Responds to the Child." The Preschool in Action: Exploring Early Childhood Programs. Edited by Ronald K. Parker. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1972.

__________. "Overview of Responsive Model Program." Early Childhood Education. Edited by Bernard Spodek. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973.

Orvik, James M. "Final Evaluation Report: Yupik Bilingual Education Project, Alaska State-Operated School System." Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Education. Washington, D.C.: Division of Bilingual Education, 1973. ED 086 422.

Palomares, Geraldine D. "The Effects of Stereotyping on the Self Concept of Mexican Americans." Albuquerque: Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory, 1970. ED 056 806.

Saenz, Margarita G. Final Evaluation Report: Bilingual Education Program, August 1975. Austin: Region XIII Education Service Center, 1975.

Samora, Julian. "The Education of the Spanish-Speaking in the Southwest: An Analysis of the 1960 Data." Paper presented at the Mexican Workshop at Occidental College, Los Angeles, California, January 1963.

Spodek, Bernard. Early Childhood Education. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973.

Stanley, Julian C., ed. Preschool Programs for the Disadvantaged: Five Experimental Approaches to Early Childhood Education. Baltimore: The JohnsHopkins University Press, 1972.

Ulibarri, Horacio. "Teacher Awareness of Sociocultural Differences in Multicultural Classrooms." Sociology and Social Research, 45 (October 1960), 49-55.

Weikart, David P. "Longitudinal Results of the Ypsilanti Perry Preschool Project." High Scope Educational Research Foundation, Ypsilanti, Michigan, Office of Education. Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Research, 1970. Ed 044 536.

Zirkel, Perry A.; Green, John F. "The Measurement of Self-Concept of Disadvantaged Students." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the National Council on Measurement in Education, New York, New York, February 1971. ED 053 160.

PANEL II: Excerpts from Discussants' Remarks

MR. ELM: We're just beginning to design (culturally responsive) programs and what we've done is to recognize, on a national level, that there is no general philosophy of education that fits all of the people. It is up to local people to determine the philosophy of education for themselves and in turn define those values and attitudes and beliefs that governed the behaviors of (their) grandfathers and use that as the basis of the educational program...I think that if any community can do that, they're eventually going to ...be able to meet the very basic emotional, psychological needs that are now practically void in the system...

There was one thing I didn't like about both presentations...I don't understand how we can begin to design culturally responsive programs and yet go to standardized tests to evaluate those programs...We (are trying) to measure something that a standardized test can't measure.

DR. TAYLOR: Dr. Laosa notes quite accurately in his paper that classroom instruction through a second language is probably by itself not the only or perhaps even the principal reason that so many children...of limited English-speaking families perform poorly academically...The root of the problem, he states, is that rather abrupt discontinuity in the total sociocultural context of which language is only a part. (The difficulty) is compounded by the issues related to attitudes and behaviors from two sociocultural contexts toward each other. This analysis is appropriate not only for Chicano kids, but for Blacks, Reds and Yellows...

The impact of our culturalization on self-concept has been aptly documented by Dr. Escobedo. We concur that the young child needs an environment which does not make inordinate demands in order to develop a healthy self-concept.

Frequently we as minorities state that the tests or instruments are inappropriate. (Yet) we continue to use them to justify the concepts we support...

While it is mandatory that appropriate research and field testing precede wholesale adoption of an educational theory, the fact is also too clear that too few minority youngsters are completing school...We can't afford the luxury of time. Time is not on our side...Standards, you say? Well, as someone has said earlier today, "Don't talk to us about standards; if you're not succeeding now with the standards you have, why talk about standards?"...

We must encourage more bilingual teachers from every walk of life, if they're Anglos or if they're Blacks...

We must build bridges between the schools and the communities we serve. We must involve the parents as well as the students in the educational process. We must do away with the current thinking at so many schools that ethnic holidays...constitute multicultural education.

PANEL II: Synopsis of Floor Discussion

Discussion centered on some potential methodological failings in cross-cultural studies -- e.g., controlling for relevant variables; designing sensitive observational procedures.

PANEL III: Introductory Statement

Panel III addressed topic "5" (see page 4). The Principal Investigators were Dr. John Young and Ms. Helen Parker. Dr. Young's paper was entitled "Analysis of Bilingual/Bicultural/Biliterate Curriculum Development in Connection with Equal Educational Opportunity in Title VI." Ms. Parker's paper was entitled "Who Benefits from Bilingual Education on the Rocky Boy Reservation?" Serving as Discussants were Dr. M. Reyes Mazon, Director of the Institute for Cultural Pluralism, San Diego State University, and Ms. María A. Chavez, Advisor to the Los Angeles Unified School District, Area G. The panel was presided over by Ms. Lucille Echohawk, member of the Lau Project Advisory Board. Dr. Young's and Ms. Parker's papers are reproduced on the following pages.

ANALYSIS OF BILINGUAL/BICULTURAL/BILITERATE CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT IN CONNECTION WITH EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY IN TITLE VI

John Young

Seton Hall University

ANALYSIS OF BILINGUAL/BICULTURAL BILITERATE CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT IN CONNECTION WITH EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY IN TITLE VI

I. TITLE VI AND BILINGUAL EDUCATION

In December 1973 the Supreme Court of the U. S. was asked in the case of Lau versus Nichols to decide whether Lau was entitled to have equal educational opportunity in terms of the following questions:

> Are those minority children who do not speak English or who have limited English ability entitled to appropriate education services which are meaningful to them or to the same and identical services which English speaking Anglo children receive, although they may not understand the classroom instructions?

On January 21, 1974, the Supreme Court unanimously decided in favor of Lau. The Court also ruled that the May 25, 1970 Memorandum issued by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare which has the responsibility to enforce Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, a reasonable exercise of the authority granted by Congress pursuant to Title VI.

The memorandum interprets Title VI to prohibit the use of English for instruction of non-English speaking minority children which is unintelligible to them while the use of a language which is the dominant language of the minority children is available. Identical treatment is not necessarily equal treatment. Although the memorandum does not require a school district to provide a specific type of language instruction, it stipulates that the school districts must take appropriate action to guarantee that "meaningful access to educational services is afforded to children who would otherwise be denied such access due to their race or national origin." Therefore, the question is whether an equal, not necessarily an identical, opportunity for education has been provided for a minority child.

Equal educational opportunity is not offered due to many social, psychological and educational barriers. According to Mary M. Lapper who delivered her talk for the National Education Task Force de la Raza in July 1975, the social barriers could be structural, which includes the racial and ethnic structure of America. Psychological barriers arise from negative aspects of the life style of the minority community either maintained voluntarily by the community or coerced by others. They might result in low self-esteem, low educational achievement, and negative stereotypes.

Educational barriers "encompass those attitudes, policies, and practices of institutions and individuals that have adverse impacts on minority groups." Some of the commonly cited examples of educational barriers are the uses of standardized tests for admissions or scholarships; channeling the children through one-sided counseling and guidance process; biased distribution of financial aids.

According to *HEW and Civil Rights* and Policies on *Elementary and Secondary School Compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964* issued by the Department of HEW, the following practices of discrimination are prohibited when based on race, color, or national origin:

> "Applying different standards in determining eligibility for services; denying services;
> locating facilities so as to exclude certain persons;
> providing services in a different manner;
> segregation in the provision of services;
> administering services in ways which impair human dignity;
> restricting an individual in the enjoyment of any privilege shared by others;
> refusing to grant equal staff privileges in a facility;
> failing to account for skills in a language other than English;
> using English language proficiency as a criterion in assigning

national origin children to classes for the mentally retarded;

denying minority children access to college preparatory courses;

grouping minority children by language in such a way that they will be led to educational dead-end."

School districts and private schools receiving federal assistance must assure that their programs are free of discrimination. The law forbids segregating pupils or denying them equal educational opportunities on the grounds of race, color, or national origin. Local schools must be responsible for:

"eliminating and preventing discrimination in all services, facilities, activities, and programs;

eliminating student assignment procedures, school attendance and school feeder patterns which segregate pupils;

hiring and assigning teachers and other professional staff on a non-discriminatory basis;

developing English language skills without demeaning the language of a pupil's home environment."

Each school system also must assure that no minority pupil is denied an opportunity to obtain the education that other pupils get because of:

"overcrowded classes and activities in schools attended by minority children;

less qualified teachers being assigned to such schools;

poorer facilities and instructional equipment and supplies at such schools along with higher pupil-teacher ratios or lower per pupil expenditures;

less adequate student services, including guidance and counseling, job placement, vocational training, medical services, remedial work;

gerrymandered school attendance boundaries designed to perpetuate racial segregation;

inability to speak and understand the English language."

Throughout the history of the enforcement of Title VI, the Office of Civil Rights has initiated hearing procedures against about 600 school districts. Only about 200 districts' federal funds were terminated, and most of them have had their funds restored because "they came into compliance voluntarily or under court order."

II. LAU REMEDIES

From Section 3 of the Task Force Findings Specifying Remedies Available for Eliminating Past Educational Practices Ruled Unlawful Under Lau vs. Nichols issued by the Office for Civil Rights in 1975, summer, the following summary can be made:

1. For pupils who are monolingual speakers of languages other than English (NE)
    - A. Elementary and Intermediate Level
        - (1) Transitional Bilingual Education Program (TBE)
        - (2) Bilingual/Bicultural Program (BL/BC)
        - (3) Multilingual/Multicultural Program (ML/MC)
    - B. Secondary Level
        - (1) Subject matters in NE plus ESL
        - (2) Subject matters in NE, then in E/NE and finally in E (E means English)
        - (3) ESL or HILT (High Intensive Language Training) leading to E
        - (4) TBE
        - (5) BL/BC
        - (6) ML/MC
2. For pupils who speak mainly NE and some E
    - A. Elementary Level

      same as (1) (A)
    - B. Intermediate and High School Level

Those minority pupils who are underachieving should be given educational programs which include any one or combination of the following:

(1) ESL

(2) TBE

(3) BL/BC Programs

(4) Multilingual/Multicultural Program

Compensatory education in NE is necessary if prerequisite skills in NE have not been taught.

3. For pupils who can speak English and NE; or speak E and some NE; or speak E only

   A. For pupils who are underachieving, treatment corresponds to the regular program requirements for all racially/ethnically identifiable classes or tracks composed of students who are underachieving, regardless of their language background.

   B. For those who are achieving at grade level or better, there is no need of any additional educational program.

Since their publication, Lau Remedies have been misunderstood regarding the application and implementation of them. A memorandum from the Elementary and Secondary Education Division of Office for Civil Rights dated April 8, 1976, stated that:

> "The Lau Remedies are guidelines only to be used by OCR investigators in order to determine the acceptability of a district's plan which is submitted pursuant to receipt of a letter of noncompliance."
>
> "Moreover, the Lau Remedies are not exclusive; however, when a district varies from the suggested OCR Remedies, a burden is placed upon that district to show that the Remedies submitted in the plan will be effective to cure the violations."

From the aforementioned memorandum it is quite clear that bilingual education and other remedies suggested in Lau Remedies are not mandatory for school districts to provide, as long as concrete measures are taken to offer equal educational opportunities to non-English speaking minority children, although the burden of proof is on the shoulders of school districts.

III. SCOPE OF THIS PAPER

Since the Task Force recommendations or Lau Remedies deal mainly with bilingual and bicultural education, and since the task given to this writer deals with curriculum and instructional aspects of the bilingual and bicultural programs, it is the intention of this writer to confine himself only to this aspect of the issue.

Since Ms. Anita Pfieffer has proposed to take up "review of current bilingual-bicultural programs and models in terms of their validated success in achieving specified objectives," this writer will take up "analysis" portion of the assignment.

Generally speaking, the following aspects of bilingual-bicultural programs should be considered in our analysis:

"1. Background such as history and identification of the program;
2. Objectives such as philosophy, rational goals, and expected outcomes;
3. Participants such as age, language dominance, qualifications, demographic and cultural factors;
4. Initial plan such as support enlisting, resources identifications, needs assessments, fund raising, designation or development of curriculum materials, staff identification and training, and selection of participants;
5. Staffing such as job descriptions, qualifications, recruitment, stabilization of personnel, preservice and inservice training;
6. Management such as authority, division of labor, and chain of command;

7. Parent involvement including community involvement, and feedback to parents;
8. Costs such as source of funds, cost analysis, per-pupil costs, and budget options;
9. Evaluations such as evaluation design, measurement, program evaluation and interpretation;
10. Instruction and curriculum such as languages of instruction, language acceptance, extent of use of language in instruction, grouping and regrouping of pupils by subject language and activities, diagnostic and progress tests, physical layout of instructional facilities, instructional strategies and instructional materials."

This writer regards curriculum and instruction as one of the most critical areas in our bilingual-bicultural education today. Although the major issues found in all the other components ultimately will affect curriculum and instruction, they will be dealt with by other writers of the conference.

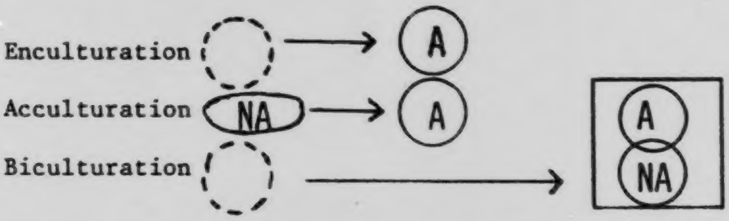
While issues from the various components overlap and intersect one another, the most pressing issues of the bilingual-bicultural curriculum and instruction are those pertinent to the effects of lack of resources, especially lack of staff and curriculum materials. The lack of staff, however, will be dealt with by other participants. This writer then, can confine himself to the curriculum materials development aspect of these issues. Therefore, the task will be narrowed to only the analysis of variables and contents as well as methods in curriculum and instructional materials development for the purpose of offering equal educational opportunities to minority children.

IV. SOME THEORETICAL VARIABLES

In this section, this writer would like to discuss some theoretical variables which affect bilingual programs: theories on culture; theories of development;

theories on learning; and theories on language acquisition. In view of the nature of this paper, passages are quoted without specific citation.

Scholars, particularly anthropologists, talk about enculturation, acculturation and biculturation. Enculturation means transmission of the culture of a community to descendents. Culture includes skills, knowledge, values and attitudes. Acculturation means acquiring a different culture which replaces the original culture one possesses. Biculturation means acquisition of two cultures simultaneously.



There are two groups of scholars whose views of culture differ. The relativistic group of scholars regards two cultures to be different from each other and each one has its own *raison d' être*. The normativistic group of scholars regards one culture as either deficient or deviant from another culture. The normativistic group tends to be more ethnocentric and advocates the cultural deprivation theory.

For a child growing up in a minority culture (such as NA) and studying at a public school which follows the majority culture (A), the enculturation process becomes non-sequenced and disjunctive. Eventually he may be acculturated but at the expense of a proper educational process.

The normativistic ignores the difference between the minority children's culture and the majority culture; fails to recognize the minority children's "human interaction behavior" developed under the minority culture; and regards English to be the standard language as the only means for communication and the only norm.

The relativistic, however, respects the minority children's culture and behavior; recognizes their human interaction behavior to be appropriate and regards their dominant language as a proper tool for education.

The differences in these two views will certainly influence the outcome of schooling. Even though normativists may recognize the need for bilingual education, usually they are satisfied with ESL programs alone, or at most follow the transitional model of bilingual schooling. It is generally compensatory, therefore, that any evaluation of the success or failure of such programs will tend to show how minority children have been acculturated. Transitional bilingual models tend to accentuate the assimulation aspect while maintenance bilingual models tend to emphasize accommodation. Normativists are generally universalists while the relativists are usually particularists.

Theories of development certainly are equally important factors in creating important variables for bilingual education programs. Piaget's conceptual development theory recognizes the importance of children's intellectual and moral development and recognizes the patterns in development. He sees that children develop sensory motor first to be followed by reflex and deliberation. Manipulation of concrete precedes abstraction. Therefore, the process involved in understanding and conceptualization are viewed as more important than that involved in rote memorization.

Willard Olson places emphasis on children's organismic age concept and their readiness level. Thus, the physical growth of a child is related to the child's achievements in school.

Erickson, following Freud's theory, talks about children's development of personality traits such as trust, autonomy, initiative, industry, ego identity, intimacy, generativity, and ego integrity. He recognizes the various psychoanalytic developmental stages by identifying the various psychological inner patterns in facing crisis at various stages.

Harving Lurst sets up individual tasks for each developmental stage of each child. Mental and physical maturity of each child, cultural environments surrounding him and his own personal values, aspirations, and motives will be considered. These different theories necessarily create different objectives, strategies and curricular arrangements.

There are many theories on learning. However, we may take up two theories for the purpose of bilingual education by grouping some of the available theories into one or the other group: (1) Association theorists or behaviorists such as Thorndike, Watson, Hull, Guthurie, and Skinner, etc.; and (2) Field theories or cognitive advocates like Lewis, Coombs, Snygg, Bruner, and Dewey, etc.

Thorndike established the law of exercise thus strengthening the notion of stimulus and response relationship through repetition; law of effect through reward; and the law of readiness. Watson stresses conditioning. Neo-behaviorists such as Hull, Guthurie, and Skinner emphasize drive, reward, repetition, and contiguity of reinforcement.

Advocates of field theories, however, recognize the value of cognitive development in learning and view man as an adaptive, purposeful organism whose behaviors are not determined by environments but affected by them. Stimuli are structured or patterned. They do not occur separately. A cognitive process intercedes between stimulus and response. Thus, Lewis stresses the motivation; Coombs and Snygg advocate discovery of personal meaning; Bruner talks about the discovery by the child and Dewey advocates problem solving.

Theories on language acquisition have especially strong influence on bilingual education. Let us confine ourselves to just two divergent camps, namely behaviorists or environmentalists and cognitive psychologists or innate competence advocates.

The behaviorists do not believe that the internal mechanism of a child can provide explanations of his behavior. As Sapon said in 1972,

> "Our only concerns are description, analysis, prediction and control of servable human behavior."

Therefore, language is defined by them as articulatory movements produced within particular settings and is a habit. However, according to cognitive advocates, acquisition of language grammar and production of creative utterances by a child cannot be explained in terms of imitation and repetition. Thus, Chomsky talks about child's innate capacity and McNeill talks about children's innate knowledge of language universals. Cognitive theorists say that observable language performance is nothing but an external manifestation of underlying competence which is not acquired through enculturation but is inherited. The rules of language, and the structure of the linguistic system are automatically produced. They recognize, however, that all human cultures are gradually developed throughout history and are shared socially in human beings' response to different needs, inclinations and situations. Cultural differences of children are not viewed as essential factors in educating culturally distinct minority children.

Different theories create different methods and approaches in language learning. Behaviorists would consider structured classroom, programmed curriculum, teaching oriented strategy, behavioral objectives, pattern practice and drill, teacher-led activities, teacher-led responses, and limited peer interaction as well as minimum reward and reinforcement, etc., as basic techniques in teaching.

Those who advocate discovery model, on the other hand, encourage flexible scheduling, children-initiated activities, non-structured class and curriculum, communication and situation oriented practices, and problem solving emphasis.

In conclusion, theories on learning, development, language acquisition and sociolinguistics contribute numerous variables which in turn affect the operations of bilingual programs. This writer does not, however, mean to imply that the above mentioned theoretical variables are exhaustive. There are many more. Only a few obvious ones have been examined so far to show their relevancy in any bilingual program or any program with the purpose of offering equal educational opportunities to minority children.

V. SOME OPERATIONAL VARIABLES

When a school district operates bilingual programs the following factors affect their operations:

1. Environmental factors such as power structure and community resources, etc.;
2. teachers;
3. learners' factors such as home, school, biological features, aptitude, language, intelligence, ability, learning style, self-concept and history of previous education;
4. classroom organization including grouping of pupils, teacher-pupil ratio and classification of pupils;
5. teaching strategies such as expository, heuristic, inductive, deductive, pupil-oriented or teacher-oriented approaches, etc.;
6. instructional factors such as goals and objectives, instructional equipments and materials, software and hardware, etc.;
7. program implementations;
8. program evaluations;
9. curriculum development choice; and
10. cost factors.

Since there are too many variables at the operational level, this writer would like to focus on a few items only.

Let us take up the question of language usage and language instruction. The following abbreviations will be used:

E = English NE = non-English
A = Anglo culture NA = non-Anglo culture

NE_n = national language, standard language or common language of a nation such as Peking dialect

NE_p = provincial or regional dialect such as Cantonese used in Canton or "Three Towns"

NE_1 = local dialect or varieties such as Cantonese used in "Four Villages"

NE_S = monoliterate, namely illiterate in NE but literate in E

NE_{Sr} = partial biliterate, namely partial literate in NE but fully literate in E

NE_{SR} = biliterate, namely fully literate in both NE and E. It is therefore assumed that E_{SR} is fully literate in E. This writer would also like to arbitrarily determine that =

s = home use with some social contact in spoken area say S1-S2 level of the FSI scale;

S = all domain of knowledge in spoken area say S3-S5;

r = partial literate say R1-R2; and

R = fully literate say R3-R5 of the FSI scale.

T = Transitional bilingual model

M = Maintenance bilingual model, therefore,

M_S = Monoliterate maintenance

M_{Sr} = Partial biliterate maintenance

M_{SR} = Biliterate maintenance, by assuming that E_{SR} will be always there

E_e = English for speakers of English

E_{ne} = English for non-speakers of English or English as a second language

NE_{ne} = non-English for speakers of non-English

NE_e = non-English for speakers of English or non-English as a second language

As Mackey has analysed fully, home language and school language use affect the operation of bilingual schools. When we consider language usages at community, provincial or regional, and national level, the problem becomes more complicated. English language extends beyond the national boundaries. The usefulness, prestiges and conveniences go beyond even the geographical areas where that language is used. Sociolinguistic study of these factors will be necessary. They affect the psychology of the users and learners, and they affect language loyalty and language contact studies.

Mackey considered language instruction at school by designating:

1. the development of the language in terms of transfer and maintenance (this writer would like to change this to transfer, maintenance and development);
2. the direction of language usage in terms of acculturation and irredentism;
3. the distribution of languages and change of languages in terms of complete and gradual.

Atilano Valencia's eight models for bilingual education in terms of language of instruction, subjects taught and the time, are very useful. (Bilingual-Bicultural Education for the Spanish-English Bilingual -- Las Vegas, New Mexico, Highlands University Press, 1972).

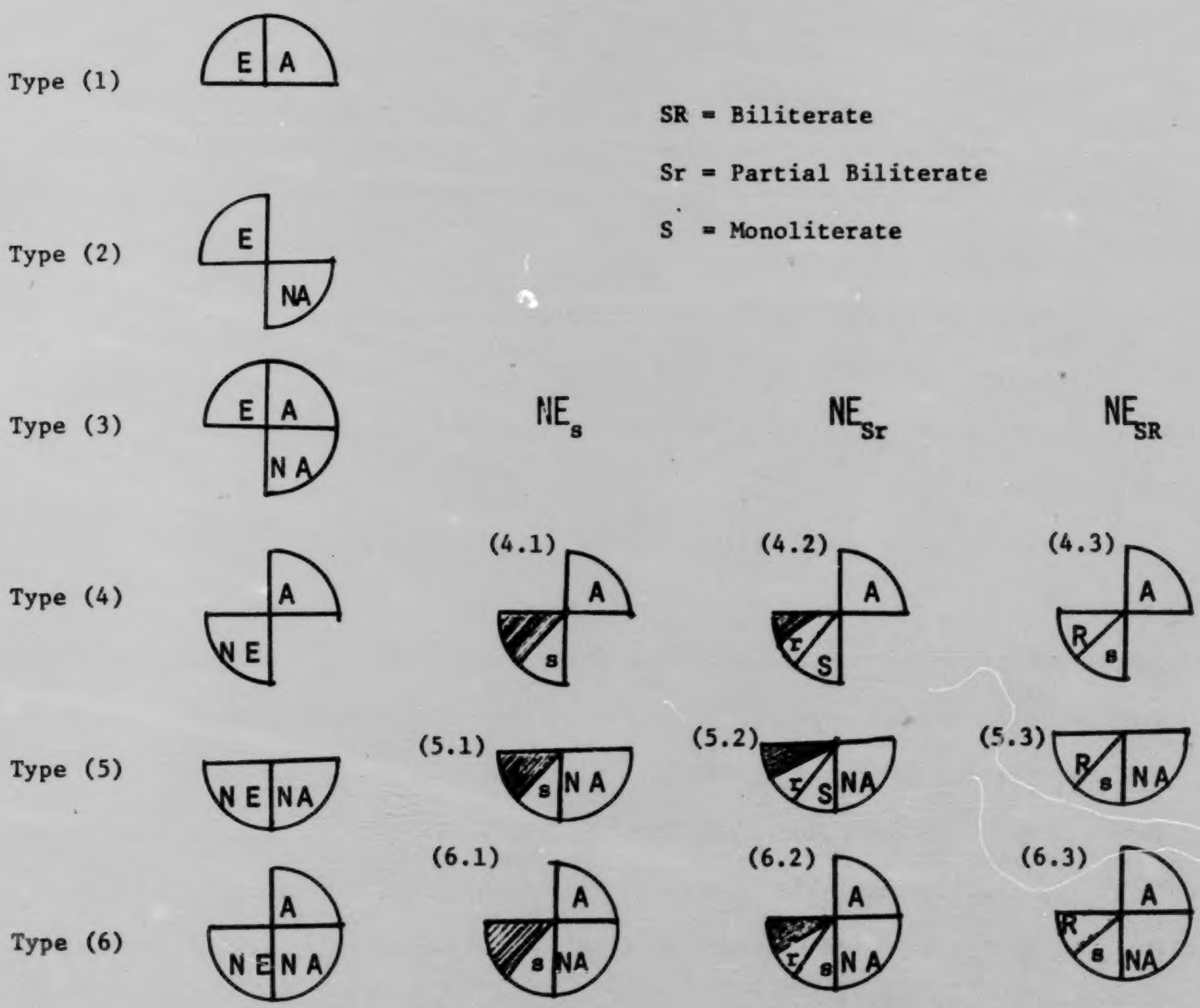
Fishman and Lovas in their "Bilingual Education in Sociolinguistic Perspective," TESOL Quarterly, Vol. 4, No. 3, September 1970, considered the literacy problem in their study of language usage and language acceptance. Thus, they grouped bilingualism into the following categories, namely transitional bilingualism; monoliterate bilingualism; partial bilingualism and full bilingualism.

This writer, based on Fishman and Lovas model, would like to consider the whole issue by three titles, namely "bicultural," "bilingual," and "biliterate." Assuming that English, both spoken and written, must be fully learned by pupils in America, bilingual schools could follow:

1. Transitional model ($T = E_{SR}$);
2. Bilingual and bicultural but monoliterate maintenance model ($M_S = E_{SR}\ NE_S$);
3. Bilingual and bicultural but partial biliterate maintenance model ($M_{Sr} = E_{SR}\ NE_{Sr}$);
4. Bilingual, bicultural and biliterate maintenance model ($M_{SR} = E_{SR}\ NE_{SR}$).

Thus, this writer's "Typology of Pupils by Language and Culture" chart appeared in the Journal of the Classroom Language Teachers Association, February 1976 issue and will be modified as follows:

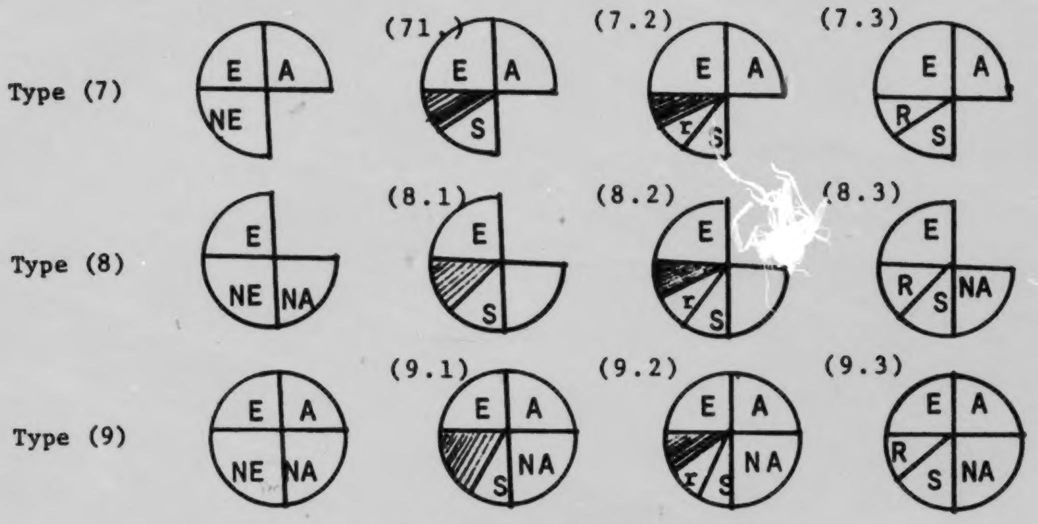
Typology of Pupils by Bicultural, Bilingual, Biliterate


Type (1)
E
A
Type (2)
E
NA
Type (3)
E
A
NA
NEs
NESr
NESR
Type (4)
A
NE
(4.1)
A
s
(4.2)
A
r
S
(4.3)
A
R
s
Type (5)
NE
NA
(5.1)
s
NA
(5.2)
r
S
NA
(5.3)
R
s
NA
Type (6)
A
NE
NA
(6.1)
A
s
NA
(6.2)
A
r
s
NA
(6.3)
A
R
s
NA

SR = Biliterate

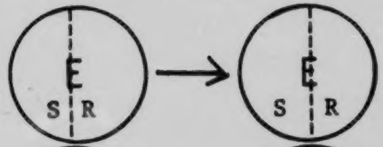
Sr = Partial Biliterate

S = Monoliterate

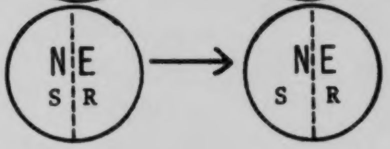

Type (7)
E
A
NE
(71.)
E
A
S
(7.2)
E
A
r
S
(7.3)
E
A
R
S
Type (8)
E
NE
NA
(8.1)
E
S
(8.2)
E
r
S
(8.3)
E
R
S
NA
Type (9)
E
A
NE
NA
(9.1)
E
A
S
NA
(9.2)
E
A
r
S
NA
(9.3)
E
A
R
S
NA

Typology of Bilingual Schools

1. Monolingual

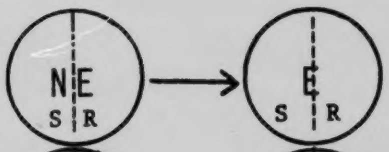


E_{SR}

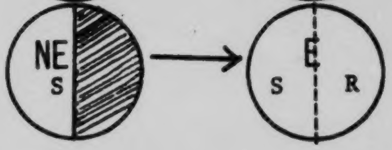


NE_{SR}

2. Transitional T Model

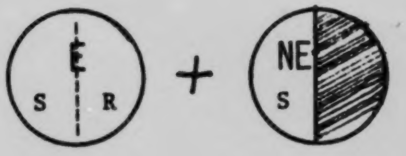


$(NE_{SR})E_{SR}$



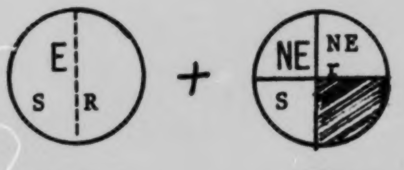
$(NE_S)E_{SR}$

3. Maintenance M_S Model



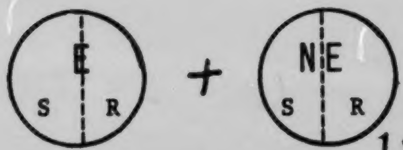
$E_{SR}NE_S$

M_{Sr} Model



$E_{SR}NE_{Sr}$

M_{SR} Model



$E_{SR}NE_{sR}$

In actuality, the matter is far more complicated than the diagrams. Suppose there is a speaker of Cantonese from Four Villages. Maintenance or sustenance means that the pupil's "Four Villages" variety of Cantonese is used and taught as their dominant language. They do not have to study the provincial variety of "Three Towns" Cantonese or Peking dialect (Mandarin) which is the national language of China. Even without adding the "pro and con" factor in terms of existence or absence of orthography, we could still consider cases such as:

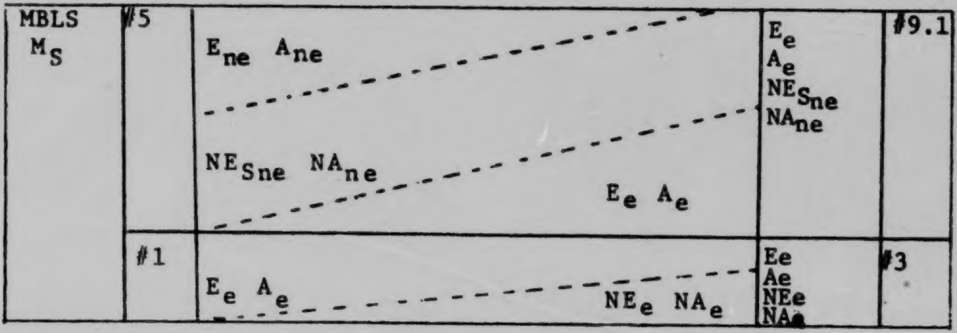
1. NE_s only
2. NE_S but only in terms of NE_1
3. NE_S in terms of NE_p
4. NE_S in terms of NE_n
5. NE_S in terms of any combination of NE_1, NE_p, NE_n
6. NE_{Sr} ("r" may be "1", "p" or "n")
7. NE_{SR} ("R" may be "1", "p" or "n")

Let us modify the "Typology of Schools by Bilingual and Bicultural Curriculum" appeared in the same issue of the Journal of the Chinese Language Teachers Association and change it to "Typology of Schools by Bilingual, Bicultural, and Biliterate Curriculum." The MBLS or Maintenance Bilingual School model will be as follows:

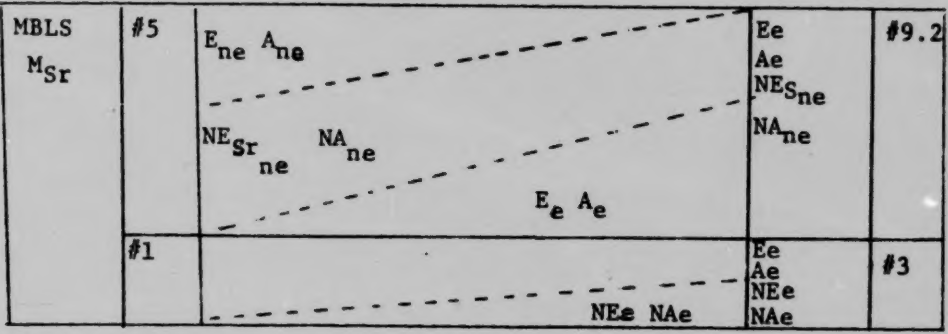
Typology of Schools by Bilingual, Bicultural and Biliterate Curriculum

MBLS Model

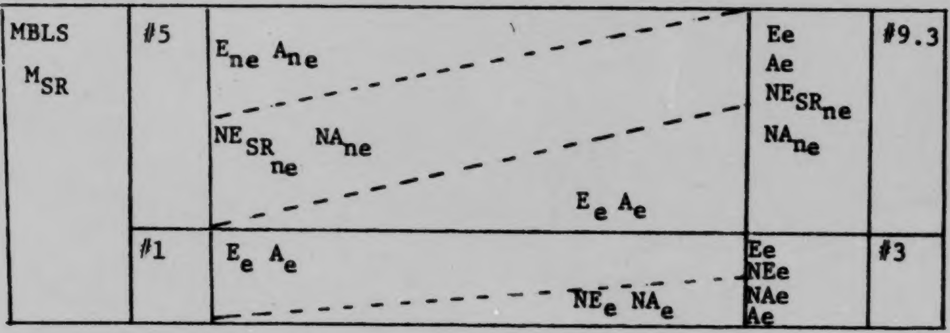
M_s Model


MBLS
M_S
#5
E_{ne} A_{ne}
NE_{Sne} NA_{ne}
E_e A_e
E_e
A_e
NE_{Sne}
NA_{ne}
#9.1
#1
E_e A_e
NE_e NA_e
Ee
Ae
NEe
NAe
#3

M_{sr} Model


MBLS
M_{Sr}
#5
E_{ne} A_{ne}
$NE_{Sr_{ne}}$ NA_{ne}
E_e A_e
Ee
Ae
NE_{Sne}
NA_{ne}
#9.2
#1
NEe NAe
Ee
Ae
NEe
NAe
#3

M_{SR} Model


MBLS
M_{SR}
#5
E_{ne} A_{ne}
$NE_{SR_{ne}}$ NA_{ne}
E_e A_e
Ee
Ae
$NE_{SR_{ne}}$
NA_{ne}
#9.3
#1
E_e A_e
NE_e NA_e
Ee
NEe
NAe
Ae
#3

Another area which needs to be considered is the classification of pupils who can either be considered by language, culture or both.

Language

- (a) NE dominant majority
  - NE only, no E
  - NE plus some E
  - ENE
- (b) E dominant majority
  - E only, no NE
  - E plus some NE
  - ENE

Culture

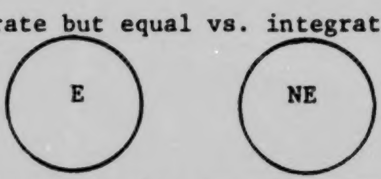
- (a) NA dominant majority
  - NA only
  - NA plus some A
  - ANA
- (b) A dominant majority
  - A only
  - A plus some NA
  - ANA

The grouping of pupils by language of instruction affects classroom arrangement and instructional organization.

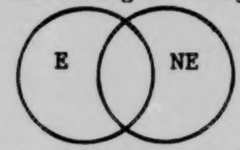
Language of Instruction

(a) Mini School

Separate but equal vs. integration

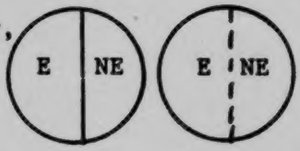


(b) Same school but pupils are either grouped together or separated according to subjects.

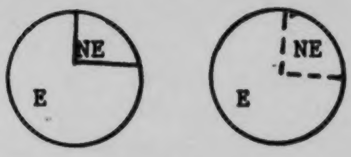


(c) When grouped together, both languages will be used for instruction. The ratio may be different however.

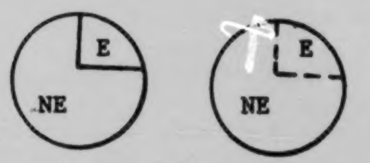
(c1) Both are used equally, consecutive or alternating



(c2) Mainly E



(c3) Mainly NE



Teachers are another important variable in operating a bilingual school. The following items should be included in the analysis of operation variables:

1. Teachers' attitude toward bilingual education;
2. teacher's teaching technique and strategies;
3. teachers' awareness of pupils' culture;
4. teachers' conviction that his/her role is to give a culture to their pupils, to replace their pupils' culture by another culture, or to maintain, expand or develop pupils' own culture;
5. teachers' interaction with their pupils;
6. teachers' belief that their pupils' behavior is appropriate from the point of view of pupils' repertoire of behavior;
7. teachers' interaction style with their pupils; and
8. teachers' expectation that their pupils either be assimulated with Anglo culture or their pupils' culture be given accommodation.

Together with many other variables, the operation of a bilingual school will be affected and those operational variables will in turn affect the compilation work of curriculum.

VI. CURRICULUM AND INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS DEVELOPMENT

As stated before, this writer intends to mainly confine his analysis to the problems of curriculum and instructional materials development. The following related problems will be discussed here:

1. Philosophy and goals;
2. Availability of materials;
3. Typology of bilingual education materials development process;
4. Approach models in materials development;
5. Subjects treatment;
6. Language problems.

1. Philosophy and goals

As indicated in the previous chapters, bilingual materials development will be totally affected by the theories and objectives of the developers.

Should a developer follow the normativistic view, he would either insist on the adoption or adaption model of materials development, or ignore the importance of relevancy to local community needs even if he develops bilingual materials anew. He may include the minority children's culture only as content variables, not as process variables. He would view the minority children's culture as deviation, derivatives or less significant one as compared with the norm for culture which he has in mind.

On the other hand, if he follows the relativistic view, then he would respect the child's own dominant language whether it is a social or geographical variety. He would regard the minority's culture as an equally relevant and important one for the child as that of the Anglo culture. He would allow the child's distinct cultural learning style to be followed and respected. He would treat cultural differences such as family life, institutions, role of community, interaction behaviors, anticipations, perceptions, and aspirations as different and compare but without evaluating them on the basis of Anglo culture.

For instances, in considering ethnic contents, the following criteria in making a fair representation of Asian-American minorities, their diverse spectrum of culture, life styles, values, and philosophies should be taken into account when compiling the materials or checking the contents.

(1) Materials should contain information about the cultural heritage of Asian American groups, including their contributions, traditions, values, philosophies, life styles, and religions.

(2) When portraying the culture of an ethnic minority group, materials should include a clear distinction between the "root culture", namely the culture from which the ethnic culture originated, and the "ethnic culture," as represented in America. For example, the culture in Japan is not necessarily the same as the culture which Japanese-Americans possess in America.

(3) In portraying Asian-American groups, a balance between the traditional and the non-traditional, between active roles and passive roles, between past and present socioeconomic settings, must be maintained.

(4) Success or failure of an Asian-American minority should not be judged solely by Anglo standards. The people's view of that particular minority group involved must be carefully considered.

Generally speaking, however, the following objectives and goals have been viewed by materials development centers and compilers as fair and attainable, although empirical evidence is still lacking.

(1) Bilingual materials must be developed to provide minority's children with meaningful educational experiences in terms of their own language and cultural varieties;

(2) Bilingual materials must be developed to provide minority children with materials that would enable them to develop a positive self-

concept, and to appreciate and to maintain ties with their own cultural heritage;

(3) Bilingual materials must be developed to provide children with the necessary skills and cognitive ability to function meaningfully in an English-speaking society with Anglo culture as its dominant force, although this last point has not been accepted by some of the bilingual education supporters;

(4) Bilingual materials must be developed to provide children with a broader outlook and a deeper understanding of human experiences through comparative approaches which monolinguals or monocultural children may not have. The intercultural relationship is an important factor in education especially if that society is pluralistic and is affected by international engagements.

2. Availability of Materials

One major issue in this area is the lack of materials. Materials developers cannot be produced overnight. Many of them have not been properly trained.

The problem of lack of materials extends both horizontally and vertically. Not only that all subjects were not covered entirely but also sequentially arranged instructional materials are lacking. Upper grades materials are totally lacking for Japanese, Korean and many other minority groups.

Furthermore, no one writes out of a vacuum. His perception, philosophy and knowledge affect his output. Almost without exception, materials developed by one center are not suitable for other areas or communities with various linguistic and cultural differences. Some of those developed materials must be extensively modified before they can become suitable for the needs of children in other school districts.

For some smaller minority groups, commercially produced materials do not seem to be feasible sources of materials since no commercial concern would be willing to produce materials that cannot guarantee profit. So far, the greater part of materials development has been accomplished by the various local projects, of course with some exceptions, in order to insure appropriate and relevant content for each locality. But those developers usually do not have easy access to institutions of higher learning or resource centers. There is a great need to not only train developers but also to facilitate exchange of ideas and experiences. A constant flow of information about new materials, new techniques and new resources is equally important as our efforts in constantly training bilingual material developers. Unique language varieties, unique cultural varieties and unique needs of each community must be considered. It is, therefore, suggested that a "model set" be compiled in such a manner as to reveal and show basic philosophy method and technique as well as content items to be incorporated in the material development. Many other localities might adapt the model by injecting local needs into their own materials.

As to the foreign-made materials, some projects have already adopted or adapted them. However, these materials do not necessarily conform in content, objectives and progress level to curricula here in America and usually lack hyphenated-American's past history, their endeavors and their cultural heritage as affected by America's environment. Some technical difficulties such as each school district's approved list and other difficulties such as availability of new math techniques, etc., are other factors making adoption of foreign-made materials difficult.

3. Typology of Materials Development Process

Furthermore, this writer has identified five major types in text compilation processes. They show model changes ranging from A model to C model (see Chart 6 and Table 1). The first and second types are based exclusively on Model A. The first type is a direct adoption either of foreign materials without any consideration given to the American environment and Anglo culture or of materials developed for Anglo students without giving any consideration to Chinese, Japanese, or Korean.

The second type is an indirect adoption of materials either of a foreign origin or exclusively compiled for Anglo pupils by translating them into a pupil's dominant language. Obviously neither the first nor the second type is bicultural.

Types three and four are adaptation types and are combinations of A and C models. According to type three, materials are rewritten in the pupil's dominant language and some supplementary materials including vocabulary lists and annotations to cover ethnic specifics are added. According to type four, texts are modified and adjusted to incorporate different ethnic considerations.

Type five is the true bicultural text compilation model. Materials are newly created with ethnic emphasis or focus. Type three might be proper for math and science as well as music and art, and type five might be proper for social science and language arts.

Materials Development -- Process

(1) Direct Adoption (Model A)

   a. Anglo approach -- Adopt materials based on Anglo culture and written in English Ae

   b. Non-Anglo approach -- Adopt materials based on NA culture and written in Non-English NAne

(2) Indirect Adoption (Model A)

   a. Anglo approach -- Translate into Non-English those materials developed on the basis of Anglo culture and written in English. Ae → Ane

   b. Non-Anglo approach -- Translate into English those materials developed on the basis of Non-Anglo culture and written in Non-English NAne → NAe

(3) Adaptation through Supplementation (Model A+C)

a. Anglo approach -- Use materials developed on the basis of Anglo culture and written in English as the blue print, rewrite it in Non-English, and write supplements based on Non-Anglo culture in Non-English   Ae → Ane + NAne supplements

b. Non-Anglo approach -- Use materials developed on the basis of Non-Anglo culture and written in Non-English as the blue print, rewrite it in English, and write supplements based on Anglo culture in English   NAne → NAe + Ae supplements
(supplements---vocabulary lists, annotations in the pupil's dominant language, and supplementary materials to cover ethnic specifics, etc.)

(4) Adaptation through Modification (Model A+C)

a. Anglo approach -- Use materials developed on the basis of Anglo culture and written in English as the blue print, rewrite it in Non-English with some modifications and adjustments to incorporate some NA data, viewpoints, values, etc.   Ae → (A+some NA) ne

b. Non-Anglo approach -- use materials developed on the basis of Non-Anglo culture and written in Non-English as the blue print, rewrite it in English with some modifications and adjustments to incorporate some A data, viewpoints, values, etc.

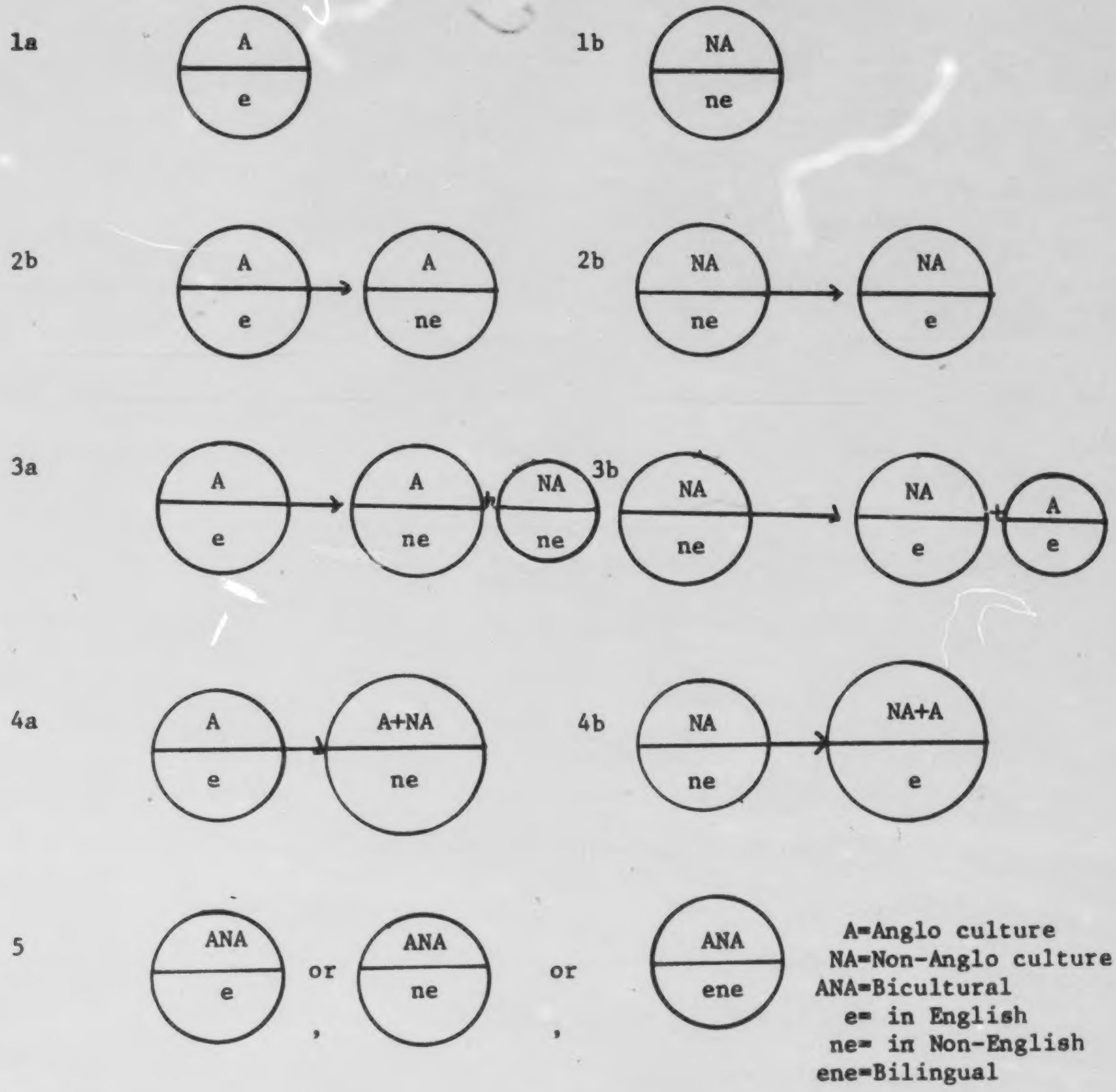
NAne → (NA + some A) e

(5) Creation (Model C)

a. Ethnic approach -- Materials developed specifically for ethnic needs with due attention paid to comparative considerations given to both Anglo and Non-Anglo cultures written in English (English approach) or in Non-English or in both languages.

ANAe, ANAne, or ANAe + ANAne

Materials Development Process


1a
A
e
1b
NA
ne
2b
A
e
A
ne
2b
NA
ne
NA
e
3a
A
e
A
ne
NA
ne
3b
NA
ne
NA
e
A
e
4a
A
e
A+NA
ne
4b
NA
ne
NA+A
e
5
ANA
e
or
ANA
ne
or
ANA
ene

A=Anglo culture
NA=Non-Anglo culture
ANA=Bicultural
e= in English
ne= in Non-English
ene=Bilingual

4. Approach Models in Materials Development

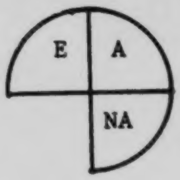
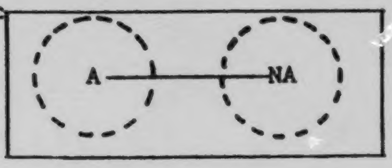
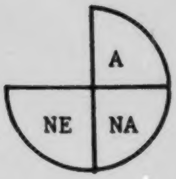
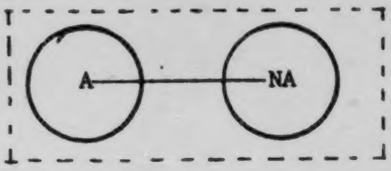
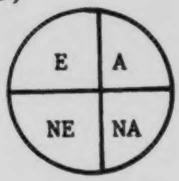
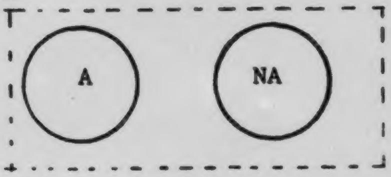
In order to develop bicultural and bilingual materials for instructional purpose, language to be used (monolingual or bilingual) and cultural content such as data, interpretation, viewpoints, etc., to be taught, should be considered. Assuming that the materials are written in English, in non-English (Chinese, Japanese, or Korean), or in two languages in each case with a bicultural approach (types 3, 6, 9), three compilation approach models can be identified: Holistic, Comparative and Atomistic. Suppose a social studies text is compiled on the basis of A model or Atomistic model, then data, contents, interpretation,and viewpoints for Anglo culture are treated as if Chinese, Japanese, or Korean cultures do not exist. No attempt is to be made to relate the two cultures and to compare them. The Anglo culture is not treated as a part of global human experience. It is treated as if it exists in isolation. Similarly, a social studies text with Chinese, Japanese, or Korean culture based on the A model is Atomistic, therefore isolated, dogmatic, and fragmented.

C model or Comparative model is different. While the relationship between the specific and the whole is not clear, at least the relationship between Anglo culture and a non-Anglo culture is established through contrastive and comparative studies. In this way,similarities and differences between two cultures are identified, and in turn either one of the two cultures will get clearer expositions.

The H model or Holistic model is an ideal one but is not attainable at present. In this model, comparison of two cultures and their relationship must be established first, and then their respective relationships with the whole of human experience must also be established. Since we do not know the various components of the whole with equal clarity, we have not yet reached the stage where the relationships among various components and the relationship between one component and the whole can be established. Therefore, we have to be satisfied with the C model at present (see Chart 3).

As one example of the C model, the Confucian-Buddhist Region involving comparative studies of Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese cultures is presented here (see Chart 4). They shared some elements but also had their own specifics. Any attempt at materials development that proposes to cover Chinese, Japanese, and Korean cultures without investigating into universal, semi-universal, semi-specific, and specific elements will result in atomistic, fragmented, and isolated production. Similarily, C model must be used in comparing the Judeo-Christian culture and Confucian-Buddhist culture as well as their sub-cultures (see Chart 5). Thus, biculture texts in America must have as broad comparison and as itemized contrast as possible. Compilers must study comparative and cross-cultural as well as interdisciplinary interpretations, accumulate data and develop rather rich reservoirs of knowledge, understanding, and resources. Thus, no text can claim something to be an exclusively Japanese feature when in reality it is shared by Chinese; no text can claim something which actually is shared by most people and yet claim it to be specific to Korea. Only through this thorough understanding of similarities and dissimilarities is it possible for a text to be able to avoid bias and for the pupil to develop a balanced, penetrating, and proportioned understanding of himself and human experiences. Clear and systematic planning in materials development of this nature has been discouragingly lacking in most of previous endeavors. Some corrective measures must be taken.

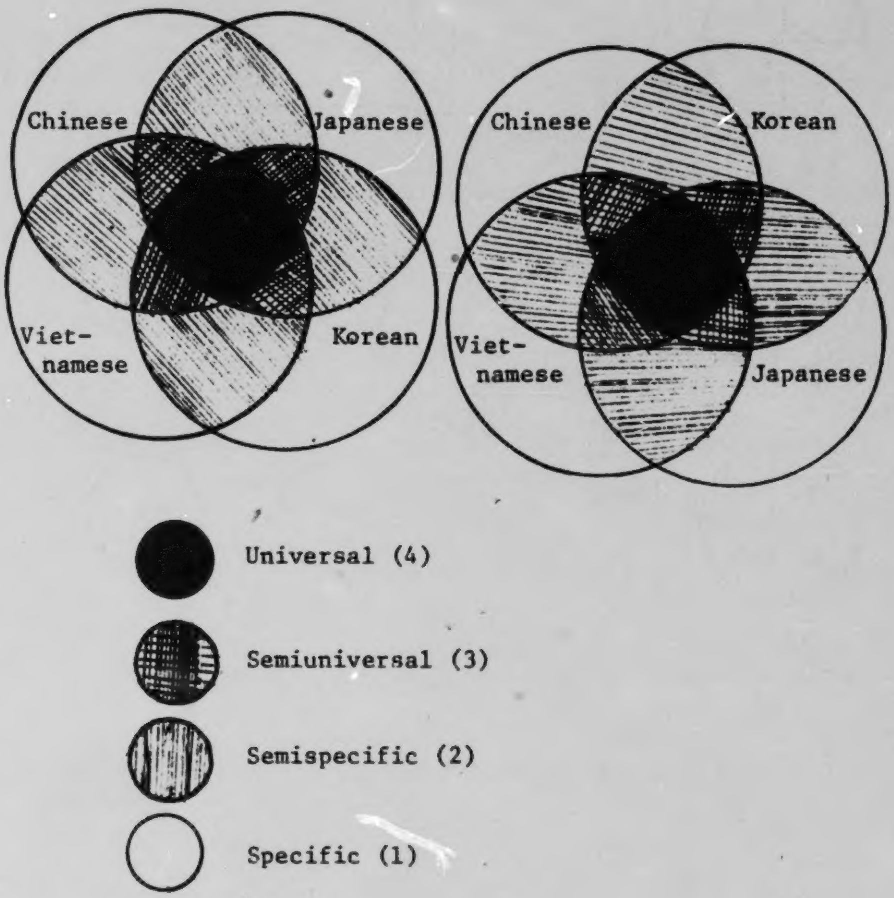
Materials Development Approach Models

Type	Model
EANA(3) 	Model H=Holistic 
NEANA(6) 	Model C=Comparative 
ENE-ANA(9) 	Model A=Atomistic 

○ =A or NA cultural group ▭ = Global or total human cultural experience

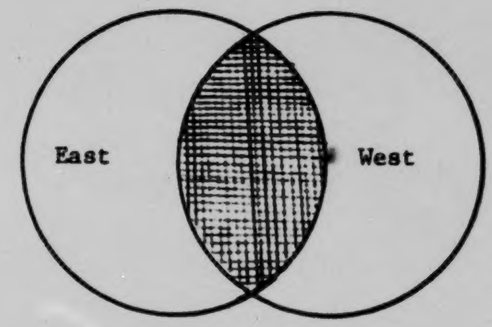
Model C

Confucian-Buddhist (Big Vehicle) Region


Chinese
Japanese
Viet-
namese
Korean
Chinese
Korean
Viet-
namese
Japanese
Universal (4)
Semiuniversal (3)
Semispecific (2)
Specific (1)

Model C

East and West or Confucian-Buddhist and Judaeo-Christian Contrast



▨ = Universal elements

○ = Specific elements

5. Subject Treatment

In treating the various subjects, the most important factor is the compiler's understanding of subject matters in providing minority children with meaningful educational experiences relevant to their language and culture, in addition to skills and intelligence developments. We have already discussed these problems elsewhere.

In this section, this writer would like to touch upon the problems of curriculum organization. First of all, the sequencing of contents of each subject must be considered. Should they be sequenced logically according to the inner structure of the subject matter or should they be sequenced completely on the basis of learner's experience? Between the logical orientation and the experience orientation, considerations might be given to the combinations of the two with the various kinds of ratios.

Furthermore, the inter-subject relationship must also be considered. This might lead possibly to the integrated approach of subjects. For instance, we may consider separate subjects, core-subjects by identifying clusters of related subjects, or the integrated subjects by either placing common problems facing children as its focus or by placing children's immediate experiences at its center.

Not only the indepth study of the various subjects is required but also the comparative study of contents of the various subjects as well as learning styles of the two cultures involved are required.

6. Language Problems

Language study as a goal such as language arts study or second language study is one thing, and language as a medium of instruction is another. Problems of language varieties, variant English and communication are but a few of many involved ones.

Since each different language variety carries different ways of conceptualizing our human experiences and the world, the problem of "medium of instruction" involves not only the communication problem, but also the problem of concept development. Most projects currently supported by federal funds vary their "medium of instruction" ratio or intensity in the classroom depending on what subjects are being taught and the language ability of the children as well as teachers.

The Lau Remedies classified minority children into five categories: pupils who can speak NE only; pupils who speak mainly NE as well as some English; pupils who can speak English and NE both; pupils who speak English and some NE; and pupils who speak English only. But pupils who speak NE and a variant form of English have not been included.

The "medium of instruction" question also affects the use of teachers. Some schools have in each classroom an English-speaking teacher and a non-English-speaking teacher. Some have an E teacher and an NE paraprofessional. The E teacher teaches language arts, social studies, science and math in English while the NE counterpart teaches language arts and social studies in NE and reinforces the other subjects in NE. The latter also offers individual instruction or small group instruction as needed. Some schools rotate NE teachers by sending them to the various classrooms or by taking out pupils by grades for NE, NA instructions.

For those pupils who use variant English, materials development and classroom performance will be affected. Should they be encouraged to study the so-called "standard" English? How relevant is the so-called "standard" English to the pupils' experience? If they do not study the "standard" English, would their future be hampered in functioning within the English and Anglo culture dominated society? Would they be burdened if they should be asked to study the "standard" English in addition to their variant form of English? Do we have any study in support of one option or the other?

Similar problems must be resolved for those children who for instance, speak one variety of Cantonese and may be asked to study the Peking variety of Chinese. This problem will be complicated further by the orthography problem.

Factors to be considered in selecting one variety of language over the other as the medium of instruction are the acceptance of that variety by the local community as well as the familiarity of it by the community people. Its use as a written form is also considered. When different dialects exist in a community, the one which the pupils speak and the community uses more widely, probably should be selected.

In an area where rapid growth of new immigrants exist, usually we find more monolinguals in NE. Recent immigrants usually are initially settled where they find assistance from earlier fellow immigrants, particularly those who have not been totally assimilated. When pupils from this type of area, especially an urban area, enter school, they usually limit themselves to the use of NE with no or limited English. Especially, when they discover that their limited English is not the "standard" form, they might be reluctant to talk to their English-speaking teachers or peers in English. Their self-concept and educational development process will be affected adversely.

Language study as a subject matter is different from language as a medium of instruction. Also, English for speakers of English is different from English as a second language study. In bilingual education, NE will be studied by NE-speaking children in their language art class, and ESL will be studied for their English class. ESL alone cannot be a substitute for a bilingual program. Normal ESL programs developed so far do not contain contrastic study of culture, and do not consider the affective or cognitive development of pupils who are not

English speakers, therefore, are not quite proper as a substitute for bilingual programs.

Problems in orthography is one important aspect of the language problem. Do we first teach orthography of NE to pupils before they develop English orthography? Can reading ability in NE be transferred into English reading? If there is no orthography for the NE, do we develop one? In the case of Chinese as an example, do we teach Cantonese-speaking pupils the Peking variety and its orthography? Among 20 or more major language varieties in Alaska, most orthographies have been either recently developed or yet to be developed. Some of them were developed on weak linguistic basis. Do we teach these? In some areas where orthography does not exist, only development of cultural arts and crafts plus some vocabulary buildings are included in their curriculum which has been built on a piecemeal basis. Do they foster any equal educational opportunity? Problems still remain.

Many problems have been considered but have yet to be resolved. Many measures have been taken but the results of them have yet to be verified. Many problems have not yet been discovered. With these in mind, let us give more thought to the analysis of Lau Remedies and Title VI in terms of curriculum and instructional materials development.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

Our initial question was whether the Lau Remedies satisfy the equal educational opportunities stipulations of Title VI. This writer has limited the scope of his analysis to curriculum and instructional materials development aspect of bilingual/bicultural/biliterate educational programs in terms of Section III of Lau Remedies.

There are many variables, both internal and external, influencing the outcome of products. Sociolinguists, psycholinguists, psychologists, anthropologists, and child development specialists offer various theories which in turn affect compilation efforts of materials developers. There are also many operational variables such as teachers' training, educational administration, costs and facilities which eventually determine the fate of a program. This writer has tried to list only some of those variables for consideration.

Many assumptions have been made, although some of them have never been verified. Is a child's self-concept a key to motivation which in turn provides a key to learning? Does discrimination affect a child's cognitive and affective development skills? Does cultural pluralism work in a society like ours? Is it really true that empathy cannot be easily attained without language? Would a child's cognitive and affective development be hampered or even disrupted if that child should be asked to study a non-dominant language alien to him? Is it really true that all languages are equally functional even though a particular speaker of a language is transferred to a community where an entirely different language is used? Further researches and studies must be made in order to ascertain more scientific and professional views. Nevertheless, all the above must be assumed in order to pursue our analysis. Statistics and other studies indicate that English language and Anglo-culture-centered education resulted in many minority children's failures.

There are many ways to rectify this situation. It has been suggested that one way to solve the problem is to establish bilingual education programs. Lau Remedies only suggested some options-in-form. From the curriculum and instructional materials development aspect alone, equal educational opportunities cannot be attained simply by establishing programs listed by Lau Remedies without defining the contents of those options. This writer only listed some of the items which would affect the outcome of compilation efforts. It is safe to say, however, that bilingual education seems to be the best way available to offer an equal educational opportunity to minority children if parents and community so wish, and if the program is conducted in a thorough way with complete details considered and executed. Any half-baked job might even hurt the children more.

Ideally, if we talk about equal educational opportunity for all, we will have to consider the Reciprocal Bilingual School model or RBLS model mentioned in the February 1976 issue of the Journal of Chinese Language Teachers Association. English-speaking children are entitled to bilingual education if they so wish. As a matter of fact, TBLS model or the Transitional Bilingual School model still leads to assimilation idea and it is a compensatory education. The MBLS model or the Maintenance Bilingual School model can even be considered a partial compensatory program because it seeks only accommodation. Only the RBLS model offers true equal educational opportunity to all and leads to mutual appreciation. Of course, Title VI does not go that far.

Indeed Lau Remedies still contain inherent defects such as lacking in content and details; lacking in clarity as to why treatments must be different depending on pupils' grade levels (time and maturity variables?); and lacking in consideration of other variables such as variant English and language variety without orthography. Nevertheless, they are indeed one step forward in offering minority children equal educational opportunity.

APPENDIX I

OCR MEMORANDUM OF 70-5-25

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20201

May 25, 1970

MEMORANDUM

TO : School Districts With More Than Five Percent National Origin-Minority Group Children

FROM : J. Stanley Pottinger
Director, Office for Civil Rights JSP

SUBJECT : Identification of Discrimination and Denial of Services on the Basis of National Origin

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the Departmental Regulation (45 CFR Part 80) promulgated thereunder, require that there be no discrimination on the basis of race, color or national origin in the operation of any federally assisted programs.

Title VI compliance reviews conducted in school districts with large Spanish-surnamed student populations by the Office for Civil Rights have revealed a number of common practices which have the effect of denying equality of educational opportunity to Spanish-surnamed pupils. Similar practices which have the effect of discrimination on the basis of national origin exist in other locations with respect to disadvantaged pupils from other national origin-minority groups, for example, Chinese or Portugese.

The purpose of this memorandum is to clarify D/HEW policy on issues concerning the responsibility of school districts to provide equal educational opportunity to national origin-minority group children deficient in English language skills. The following are some of the major areas of concern that relate to compliance with Title VI:

(1) Where inability to speak and understand the English

language excludes national origin-minority group children from effective participation in the educational program offered by a school district, the district must take affirmative steps to rectify the language deficiency in order to open its instructional program to these students.

(2) School districts must not assign national origin-minority group students to classes for the mentally retarded on the basis of criteria which essentially measure or evaluate English language skills; nor may school districts deny national origin-minority group children access to college preparatory courses on a basis directly related to the failure of the school system to inculcate English language skills.

(3) Any ability grouping or tracking system employed by the school system to deal with the special language skill needs of national origin-minority group children must be designed to meet such language skill needs as soon as possible and must not operate as an educational dead-end or permanent track.

(4) School districts have the responsibility to adequately notify national origin-minority group parents of school activities which are called to the attention of other parents. Such notice in order to be adequate may have to be provided in a language other than English.

School districts should examine current practices which exist in their districts in order to assess compliance with the matters set forth in this memorandum. A school district which determines that compliance problems currently exist in that district should immediately communicate in writing with the Office for Civil Rights and indicate what steps are being taken to remedy the situation. Where compliance questions arise as to the sufficiency of programs designed to meet the language skill needs of national origin-minority group children already operating in a particular area, full information regarding such programs should be provided. In the area of special language assistance, the scope of the program and the process for identifying need and the extent to which the need is fulfilled should be set forth.

School districts which receive this memorandum will be contacted shortly regarding the availability of technical assistance and will be provided with any additional information that may be needed to assist districts in achieving compliance with the law and equal educational opportunity for all children. Effective as of this date the aforementioned areas of concern will be regarded by regional Office for Civil Rights personnel as a part of their compliance responsibilities.

APPENDIX II
CHAPTER III OF LAU REMEDIES

III. Educational Program Selection

In the third step the district must implement the appropriate type(s) of educational program(s) listed in this Section (III, 1-5), dependent upon the degree of linguistic proficiency of the students in question. If none seem applicable check with your Lau coordinator for further action.

1. In the case of the monolingual speaker of the language other than English (speaks the language other than English exclusively).

   A. At the Elementary and Intermediate Levels:

      Any one or combination of the following programs is acceptable.

      1. Transitional Bilingual Education Program (TBE)
      2. Bilingual/Bicultural Program.
      3. Multilingual/Multicultural Program (see definitions, page 21).

   In the case of a TBE, the district must provide predictive data which show that such student(s) are ready to make the transition into English and will succeed educationally in content areas and in the educational program(s) in which he/she is to be placed. This is necessary so the district will not prematurely place the linguistically/culturally different student who is not ready to participate effectively in an English language curriculum in the regular school program (conducted exclusively in English).

Because an ESL program does not consider the affective nor cognitive development of students in this category and time and maturation variables are different here than for students at the secondary level, an ESL program is not appropriate.

B. At the Secondary Level:

Option 1 - Such students may receive instruction in subject matter (example: math, science) in the native language(s) and receive English-as-a-Second Language (ESL) as a class component (see definitions, page 21).

Option 2 - Such students may receive required and elective subject matter (examples: math, science, industrial arts) in the native language(s) and bridge into English while combining English with the native language as appropriate (learning English as a first language, in a natural setting).

Option 3 - Such students may receive ESL or High Intensive Language Training (HILT), (see definition, page 21) in English until they are fully functional in English (can operate equally successfully in school in English) then bridge into the school program for all other students.

A district may wish to utilize a TBE, Bilingual/Bicultural or Multilingual/Multicultural program in lieu of the three options presented in this section (III.1.B.). This is permissible. However, if the necessary prerequisite skills in the native language(s) have not been taught to these students, some form of compensatory education in the native language must be provided.

In any case, students in this category (III.1.B.) must receive such instruction in a manner that is expeditiously carried out so that the student in question will be able to participate to the greatest extent possible in the regular school program as soon as possible. At no time can a program be selected in this category (III.1.B.) to place the students in situations where the method of instruction will result in a substantial delay in providing these students with the necessary English language skills needed by or required of other students at the time of graduation.

NOTE: You will generally find that students in this category are recent immigrants.

2. In the case of the predominate speaker of the language other than English (speaks mostly the language other than English, but speaks some English):

   A. At the Elementary Level:

   Any one or combination of the following programs is acceptable.

1. TBE

2. Bilingual/Bicultural Program

3. Multilingual/Multicultural Program

In the case of a TBE, the district must provide predictive data which show that such student(s) are ready to make the transition into English and will educationally succeed in content areas and the educational program in which he/she is to be placed.

Since an ESL program does not consider the affective nor cognitive development of the students in this category and the time and maturation variables are different here than for students at the secondary level, an ESL program is not appropriate.

B. At the Intermediate and High School Levels:

The district must provide data relative to the student's academic achievement and identify those students who have been in the school system for less than a year. If the student(s) who have been in the school system for less than a year are achieving at grade level or better, the district is not required to provide additional educational programs. If, however, the students who have been in the school system for a year or more are underachieving (not achieving at grade level), (see definitions, page 21) the district must submit a plan to remedy the situation. This may include smaller class size, enrichment materials, etc. In either this case or the case of students who are underachieving and have been in the school system for less than a year, the remedy must include any one or combination of the following 1) an ESL, 2) a TBE, 3) a Bilingual/Bicultural Program 4) a Multilingual/Multicultural Program. But such students may not be placed in situations where all instruction is conducted in the native language as may be prescribed for the monolingual speaker of a language other than English, if the necessary prerequisite skills in the native language have not been taught. In this case some form of compensatory education in the native language must be provided.

NOTE: You will generally find that students in this category are not recent immigrants.

3. In the case of the bilingual speaker (speaks both the language other than English and English with equal ease) the district must provide data relative to the student(s) academic achievement.

In this case the treatment is the same at the elementary, intermediate and secondary levels and differs only in terms of underachievers and those students achieving at grade level or better.

A. For the students in this category who are underachieving, treatment corresponds to the regular program requirements for all racially/ethnically identifiable classes or tracks composed of students who are underachieving, regardless of their language background.

B. For the students in this category who are achieving at grade level or better, the district is not required to provide additional educational programs.

4. In the case of the predominant speaker of English (speaks mostly English, but some of a language other than English) treatment for these students is the same as III, 3 above.

5. In the case of the monolingual speaker of English (speaks English exclusively) treat the same as III, 3 above.

NOTE: ESL is a necessary component of all the aforementioned programs. However, an ESL program may not be sufficient as the only program operated by a district to respond to the educational needs of all the types of students described in this document.

APPENDIX III - OCR MEMORANDUM OF 76-4-8

MEMORANDUM

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND W
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

TO : Directors, Office for Civil Rights
Regions I - X
Elementary and Secondary Education
Branch Chiefs, Regions I - X

DATE: APR 8 1975

FROM : Lloyd R. Henderson, Director
Elementary and Secondary Education Division

SUBJECT: Application of Lau Remedies

There has been some misunderstanding regarding the application and implementation of OCR's Lau Remedies. This, therefore, is intended to clarify OCR's policy.

The Lau Remedies are guidelines only to be used by OCR investigators in order to determine the acceptability of a district's plan which is submitted pursuant to receipt of a letter of noncompliance.

Moreover, the Lau Remedies are not exclusive; however, when a district varies from the suggested OCR Remedies, a burden is placed upon that district to show that the Remedies submitted in the plan will be effect
to cure the violations.

Please disseminate this policy to your respective staffs with the request that they clarify these issues when dealing with Lau districts.

WHO BENEFITS FROM BILINGUAL EDUCATION ON THE ROCKY BOY RESERVATION

Helen Parker

Rocky Boy Reservation

The Rocky Boy Bilingual-Bicultural Education Project is beginning its fifth year in full, independent funding from the Department of Education under the authorization of the 1968 Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Title VII. The Program is a component of and controlled by the Board of Education of the Rocky Boy School District #87, and is currently operating in Headstart through eighth grade.

Past Suppression of Language and Culture

Take any group of American Indians and catalogue the injustices in regards to how the languages and cultures have been systematically forbidden for long periods of time. Add specific names (the name of the tribe, the names of the BIA Superintendents, or specific teachers, etc.), and you will have a fairly complete history of the suppression that group has gone through. Only the names are changed...

This would suggest to any thinking person that there has always been within this country a systematic attempt to "Whiten" all Native American groups, to drive a physical wedge between them and their own cultures. This has been done, especially over the past century known as Reservation Times, under the noble banner of "Bringing Civilization to the Indians."

Reservation Schools were established to achieve the Noble Aim. But they are not enough. For as one employee of the Bureau of Indian Affairs once plaintively complained, "How can we teach them to speak English when they are in our care but a few hours a day, being free for the most of the 24 hours to live in their wigwams and speak their own barbarian tongue?" Hence, the establishment of boarding facilities so that the children could be physically constrained, and forced to learn and speak English only.

What could the Indian groups do about it? Nothing. They were enemy aliens in their own country, and had absolutely no choice in the educational destiny of their own children. Reactions took three main directions:

1. Some parents, full of intense pride in their language and culture, tried withholding their children from the White system. This proved ultimately futile: Whites had the force to compel conformity.
2. Many parents found what we might today call "Compensatory Education" as the only rational solution to the problem. They tried instilling the native language and culture--and pride in both--in their children before they went off to school, hoping that the children could then learn the things which the White culture had to offer without having their basic Indian-ness destroyed. It is primarily because of those parents that the Cree language and culture are still alive today. They saw the benefits of bilingual-bicultural education.
3. History now shows, in retrospect, that the third basic group of parents made a valiant but hasty decision, for it was these parents who saw the depressing handwriting on the wall. How were they to know that the United States Government would in 1968 finally develop a social conscience toward people of different languages and cultures? It was these parents who, trying to make the best possible decisions for their children, bought the message that the schools were selling: and that message was to CONFORM.

It was this last group of parents who said to themselves, after hearing it so much from others, "It's a white world out there, and in order for my children to succeed, they will have to speak English. I know how hard it was for me when I was in school because I knew only the Cree language -- and couldn't speak it there anyway. So maybe the best way is to not speak Cree to my children, to speak only in English so that they will be prepared for English when they get to school. Maybe then my children won't have it quite so rough as I had it."

These parents did not realize that by (a) passing along no Cree, and (b) passing along that very brand of English that they were ashamed of that they were giving their children one of the worst possible handicaps -- that of not being able to communicate in ANY language.

Little did they know (and more's the pity!) that in 1971 work would begin on the reservation that would allow children to speak Cree openly in the classroom -- and even be allowed to learn basic educational concepts through their own native language! This was absolutely unthinkable only a few years ago.

Why Bilingual-Bicultural Education in Rocky Boy?

In 1970 the Rocky Boy School was taken over by the community of the Rocky Boy Reservation after being controlled by the Havre School Board since 1960. It was at this time that the newly elected Indian school board with help from the community, began to look at the education their children were receiving.

One of the first problems to be discovered was that some children at Rocky Boy came to school with only a slight knowledge of English but were still receiving total instruction in that language. Not only were they expected to learn the regular school subjects as well as the English-speaking children, but they were also required to forget the culture and traditions they had learned at home as soon as they entered the school doors.

Another problem which disturbed many people in the community was that other children knew nothing about the Chippewa-Cree culture or language when they entered school and certainly nothing more when they graduated. Since most of the parents of the Rocky Boy Elementary School children had either been sent to boarding schools for their education or had left the reservation to find work on the outside, before jobs had become available at Rocky Boy, for the most part, only those who had remained on the reservation for many years still knew the language or much about the culture.

The existence of federal funds for bilingual-bicultural education at this time appeared to present a solution to both problems. Children who spoke mostly Cree could be taught some subjects in that language while receiving intensive instruction in English until they reached the required level. Other children, those who spoke no Cree, could be taught the language and parts of the culture which they were missing. Hopefully, the culmination of the two solutions would be children who could apply their knowledge of two cultures and two languages to create a successful future.

The Rocky Boy Bilingual-Bicultural Project was then begun in 1970 as part of the Crow-Northern Cheyenne-Rocky Boy bilingual project with central offices at Hardin, Montana. After the first year the three reservation projects proved successful for Rocky Boy and the Board of Education applied for separate funding which was received in July of 1971.

In 1971 the newly hired staff members of the Rocky Boy Bilingual-Bicultural Education Project were faced with what appeared to be an insurmountable task: The creation of teaching materials and devices in and about the Cree language and in and about the Chippewa-Cree culture. Needless to say, no educational materials existed in the Cree language and nothing that could be used in the school existed about the Cree culture.

Luckily for the project, the Board of Education had purchased a used offset printing press in the spring of 1971 and darkroom space and photography equipment were available. Apart from this the Cree people had had a written language as old as the Cree themselves, which was still used by many of the tribal elders. With these bonuses, a lot of good ideas and much hard work, the staff of the Rocky Boy Bilingual-Bicultural Education Project has been able to develop the following materials: (See Appendix A)

Goals

The goals of the Rocky Boy Bilingual-Bicultural Education Project, in general terms, are the following:

1. Educational success on the part of the non-English speaking students is enhanced by permitting them to learn in their first language while they are learning to communicate in English.
2. To improve the self-image of the Chippewa-Cree children to the extent that they have pride in themselves and their heritage.
3. To create bilingual-bicultural materials which may be used by the children of the Rocky Boy School for many years.
4. To train staff members, both by actual experience and college education, to become certified bilingual-bicultural teachers. Many staff members are currently enrolled and 15 students have graduated with a degree in Elementary Education at Northern Montana College, Havre, Montana.
5. To teach tribal government, expanded to the county level, state level, and to the United States Government.
6. To teach reservation geography expanded to world geography.
7. To teach History of the Indians as told by the Tribal elders before the coming of the Europeans, Tribal History since the reservation was established, State History, and U.S. History.
8. To promote better intercultural understanding between the Indian and White communities. This includes teaching the non-Indian students an appreciation of the language and culture of the Indian

reservation on which they live. This also includes language instruction in Cree for non-Cree classroom teachers and members of the non-Indian community in general so that a more congenial and sensitive language atmosphere can be established within the classroom and throughout the local area.

In short, what I am saying is that the educators should start with the child himself, his immediate surroundings, and his culture, etc. Too many times, American Indian children are taught about another people's ways of life and many times it isn't relevant, therefore, they are not interested in school.

By using all the resources of our community and using it in the regular school curriculum, we not only get the children interested, but also their parents and grandparents; after all, education begins at home.

What is Being Done in the Bilingual-Bicultural Project?

For the past five years the Bilingual-Bicultural Project has been divided into two main divisions: Language Arts and Culture. Each class receives 30 minutes of language arts and 30 minutes of cultural instruction each day.

In the area of language arts much emphasis is placed upon the oral language up to the first grade. In the first grade, children are familiarized with the Cree Alphabet while concepts pertinent to all languages are stressed orally. In the second through eighth grades, they learn and write respectively in their own language. With cultural stories and legends written by the bilingual staff and tribal elders, the books, tapes and filmstrips used in these grades are printed in the Bilingual Materials Center at the school. During culture time the children learn more about themselves today and about their ancestors of many years ago. They learn, for example, how the buffalo was important to their people and how it was used in daily life. They also learn many things important to modern-day life, for example, what types of jobs exist on the reservation, how the BIA influences their lives, how the tribal council operates and its power, etc.

Organization of the Project

The Rocky Boy Bilingual-Bicultural Education Project is accountable to the Federal Programs Officer, Virginia Cassel, in the Department of Education, HEW, in Washington, D.C.

The project is also accountable to the Board of Education of School District #87, Rocky Boy School and to the people of the Rocky Boy Reservation.

The staff of the Rocky Boy Bilingual-Bicultural Education Project now numbers nine, eight of which are Indian: Helen Parker, Director; Ethel Parker, Curriculum Coordinator; Louise Stump, Language and Culture Teacher; Sam Windy Boy, Sr., Material Specialist; Mardell Dahlen, Cultural Artist; Rosetta Sangrey, Secretary; Hazel Raining Bird, Translator; Dola Belcourt, Printer; and Kenneth Parker, AV Technician.

The project also contracts with many community members throughout the year to come into classrooms and teach a cultural project or to tell ancient legends which have been handed down from generation to generation.

The Bilingual Advisory Board

Consisting of seven tribal members, this board aids in the development of cultural and linguistic materials for use by the Project. The board also reviews materials developed by other project staff and checks for cultural and linguistic accuracy.

The Parent Advisory Board

All parents and grandparents of children involved in the Project are invited to attend meetings of this group. Usually the Board meets bi-monthly and aids the project in creating goals determining which aspects of the culture should be included in the curriculum.

Who Benefits From Bilingual-Bicultural Education?

Who actually benefits from the Rocky Boy Bilingual-Bicultural program? The whole Rocky Roy Chippewa-Cree Tribe. We intend to raise the status of the Cree language in people's eyes, so that no Chippewa-Cree ever will again need to feel ashamed because he speaks the Cree language; bilingualism is something to be PROUD of -- not everyone can do it.

Because of this Bilingual-Bicultural Education Program, the Tribe now draws attention from other parts of the country and from other Indian groups; they watch to see if the Chippewa-Cree can save their language from dying out the way so many other tribal languages have. During the school year, we have had many visitors to see what is being done.

The Tribe benefits economically. The salaries of this year's budget go to Chippewa-Cree Indians -- as all the Bilingual Staff are local people.

The Elders of the Tribe benefit, not only by the monetary assistance, but by giving them the respect they are due as the only true experts concerning the Chippewa-Cree.

The Community benefits by becoming more educated in the new ideas of Indian education, and by seeing educational goals become more in line with how the Chippewa-Cree want their children educated. We hope to reach many people through the various feasts and meetings that our program sponsors.

The Teachers benefit, not only through the various experts in education who are contracted by the Bilingual Project to conduct workshops, but also by learning some of the ways of the community in which they work. All teachers throughout the school are free to use members of the bilingual staff whenever they need advice about the culture and language or to teach anything concerning the Indian ways to the students. All teachers are required to learn the Cree language which is taught on Wednesdays from 4:00 to 5:00 pm. All teacher assistants are in the Curriculum Planning on Wednesdays from 2:00 to 4:00 pm., with Bilingual and Research staff. The assistants are learning to write lesson plans and are currently working on a culture curriculum which can be adapted throughout the grades. All Cree speaking assistants are also learning to read and write the Cree language.

All children in our program benefit, both the Chippewa-Cree and the non-Indian. Obviously, the Cree child will benefit by being able to ask questions and receive answers in whichever language he is most comfortable with, Cree or English, whichever he chooses. After all, there are many, many things which children learn about the world that can be learned through any language; what kinds of animals there are in the world; which is up and down; left and right; and other directional concepts; how colors are distinguished from one another; what it means to be able to read and write a language.

But what of the non-Cree speaking children: How do they benefit under this kind of operation? Well, learning theories tell us that children learn a second language -- any language -- during the formative years of their lives, before the teen years, actually "program" a specific part of their brains so that for the rest of their lives, even though they may never use that particular second language again, it will always be easier for them to learn another foreign language.

Speaking two languages is like seeing the world through two different pairs of eyes. In Europe, you are scarcely considered "educated" unless you know at least two languages.

What about learning about two cultures? The Indian and white cultures are different in many respects; they are also quite similar in others. For example, the buffalo provided life to the Indian as the cow did and still does to the white man; the Indian believed in a God as much as did those white men who came to this continent seeking religious freedom, etc. Children are taught to appreciate the best of both worlds and to perhaps understand some of the mistakes of the past. Who can argue with the goal of having children be able to function well in either the Indian or white society.

This, then, has been a brief summary of what we are attempting to do at the Rocky Boy School through Bilingual-Bicultural instruction.

APPENDIX A

MATERIALS DEVELOPMENT

Since no usable materials have ever been commercially available to the bilingual-bicultural project, one of the heaviest areas of concentration during the years, was in materials development, and will continue to be so.

By April 1976 all materials set down in the following list were either partially or fully developed. The following list is accurate as of April 1976.

Fully Developed:

1. Booklets: Instructive

   A. Written stories

      a. The Cree Alphabet Book
      b. The Cree Number Book
      c. Reading Booklet #1
      d. Reading Booklet #2
      e. The Cree Readers Numbers 1-7
      f. The Rocky Boy Handbook of Plants
      g. Family at Home
      h. The Syllabic Character Workbook
      i. Porcupine Book
      j. Dinner for Grandfather
      k. The Little Indian Boy who didn't Want to Learn
      l. Instructions on making a Hair Roach
      m. Indian Sports and Play
      n. Story of Hardships of Sometimes Whenever the Hunting Was Bad (Pictures were drawn by the 2nd grade class and made into a book)
      o. Cree Reading Book Level 1-5 Booklet #1
      p. Cree Reading Book Level 1-5 Booklet #2
      q. Animal Coloring Book (Cree Reader)
      r. Paul Mitchell's Story
      s. The Bat Story
      t. Eagle and Frog Book

   B. Legends

      a. Wi-sah-ke-chah-k and the Fox
      b. Wi-sah-ke-chah-k and the Weasel
      c. Wi-sah-ke-chah-k and the Closing Eyes Dance
      d. Wi-sah-ke-chah-k Robs an Old Man's Traps
      e. Wi-sah-ke-chah-k Trades Berries for Feathers
      f. Wi-sah-ke-chah-k and the Bear
      g. Wi-sah-ke-chah-k and his Brother
      h. Of Eyeballs and Headaches
      i. The First Story of Wi-sah-ke-chah-k

    - j. Wi-sah-ke-chah-k and the Wolf Skin
    - k. Wi-sah-ke-chah-k Captures the Sun
    - l. The Fat Boy and the Giants
    - m. Wi-sah-ke-chah-k and the Chickadees
    - n. Wi-sah-ke-chah-k and the Ducks
    - o. Wi-sah-ke-chah-k and the Little Baby
    - p. Wi-sah-ke-chah-k and the Rock
    - q. The Coyote and the Prairie Dog

C. Cultural and Historical Stories

- a. The Role of the Cree Grandfather
- b. The Role of the Cree Grandmother
- c. The Role of the Cree Father
- d. How Babies got their Names
- e. The Economy of the Cree, 1750-1850
- f. How the Crees used the Teepee
- g. How our Ancestors used the Buffalo
- h. The Buffalo Hunt
- i. The Cree Indians, 1400-1885
- j. History of Little Bear
- k. History of Big Bear

2. Sound Filmstrips

- a. The Syllabic Alphabet
- b. Wi-sah-ke-chah-k and the Closing Eyes Dance
- c. Wi-sah-ke-chah-k and the Weasel
- d. The Wonderful Round Table
- e. How our Ancestors used the Buffalo
- f. The Buffalo Hunt
- g. Wi-sah-ke-chah-k and the Bear
- h. Dinner for Grandfather
- i. Coyote and the Prairie Dog

3. Bilingual Tapes

- a. The Syllabic Alphabet
    - 1) Cree and English, Book Version
- b. Wi-sah-ke-chah-k and the Weasel
    - 1) Cree and English, Book Version
- c. Wi-sah-ke-chah-k and the Closing Eyes Dance
    - 1) Cree and English, Book Version
- d. Wi-sah-ke-chah-k and the Fox
    - 1) Cree and English, Book Version
- e. The Creation of the World
    - 1) Cree
- f. The Birth of Wi-sah-ke-chah-k
    - 1) Cree
- g. The Three Little Pigs
    - 1) Cree
- h. Twenty Other Wi-sah-ke-chah-k Stories
- i. Thirty Hours of Tape of Rocky Boy History

j. Fifteen tapes of Indian Dancing and Singing
k. The Wonderful Round Table
l. Various tapes for Worksheets
m. How our Ancestors used the Buffalo
n. The Buffalo Hunt
o. Wi-sah-ke-chah-k and the Bear
p. Dinner for Grandfather
    1) English, Book Version
q. The Coyote and the Prairie Dog
    1) English, Book Version
r. The Rabbit and the Turtle
    1) English, Book Version
s. Paul Mitchel's Story

4. Stories and Histories, Manuscript Form

1. The Last Migration of the Cree
2. The Westward Movement of the Cree
3. Story of the Appaloosa Horse
4. The Man who Returned to Life
5. Recollections of Rocky Boy - George Watson
6. Recollections of Rocky Boy - Malcolm Mitchel
7. Recollections of Rocky Boy - Windy Boy
8. Recollections of Rocky Boy - Jim Denny
9. Recollections of Rocky Boy - Fred Huntley
10. Little Bear's Own Story - Florence Standing Rock
11. Various Indian Lullabies
12. How the Old Men Obtained their Songs
13. Wi-sah-ke-chah-k and the Sun Dance
14. The Rolling Head
15. Wah-to-wah-sis (Blood Child)
16. The Coming of the White Man
17. Chi-Chwah-ey
18. Looking for a Godmother - By Florence Standing Rock
19. O-Ko-Mi-Nah-Kos Story - By Windy Boy
20. An Old Story About the Buffalo and the Bear
21. This Story If by Pat Chief Stick of his Grandfather
22. Watson's Story
23. Grandmother
24. Some Indian Names of the Past
25. Life of the Early Indians - By Walter Denny
26. Some of the Old Indian Games for Youngsters - By Walter Denny
27. Indian Marriages
28. Tribal Government
29. Story and Meaning of the War Dance
30. Somethings Children Should Know, Things Which They Were Taught
31. Raining Bird's Words - By Walter Denny
32. Respect for Homes - By Art Raining Bird
33. Little Bear Story
34. How to Build a Log Cabin
35. A Dog Story
36. Bear Story - By Walter Denny
37. Teepee - By Art Raining Bird

38. Household Tools of the Indian Homes
39. Story of Hardships of Sometimes Whenever the Hunting was Bad
40. Rocky Boy Story
41. Teepee and Poles
42. Art Raining Bird Told the Following Story - Asking Sam V. Windy Boy, Jr. to translate the story.
43. Moccasin Trails to Jet Planes - By Walter Denny
44. When an Indian Maiden Becomes a Woman - By Florence Standing Rock
45. Hunting - By Walter Denny
46. How the People Made Their Living since 1921 - By Walter Denny
47. This Story is by Windy Boy
48. Fasting of the People of the Past
49. Courtship of Indians of the Past, as told by the Old People
50. History of the Cree Alphabet
51. Indian Weather Forecast - By Art Raining Bird
52. Story of the Bear Paws - By Walter Denny
53. Wonderful Round Table
54. Quillwork
55. A Story by Art Raining Bird, Joe Stanley and Charlie Top Sky
56. Mr. Mitchell's Words of Old Rocky Boy
57. Who Are We as Humans
58. The Cree Sundance
59. Teepees and Emergency Homes
60. How the Horse came About - By Sam Windy Boy, Sr.
61. Indian Welcome - By Walter Denny
62. Story of Loneman
63. Word of the Plants
64. Sports
65. These are Jim Denny's Words - By Walter Denny
66. A Story by Art Raining Bird
67. By Sam Roasting Stick what he Remembered
68. The Boy Who Saved the Village - By Florence Standing Rock
69. The Man who Couldn't Pay His Bills - By Florence Standing Rock
70. Indian Buffalo Hunt - By Art Raining Bird
71. Duties of a Mother in her Teepee - By Walter Denny
72. A Family of Cree
73. Words of the Old People of the Past - By Art Raining Bird
74. History - Words of Fred Huntley - By Walter Denny
75. Story of how the Cree's got the Wardance and Grassdance
76. History - By George Denny
77. The Cat Story - By Sam Windy Boy, Sr.

5. Animal Posters

    a. Twenty-five sets of animal posters utilizing local animals have been completed.

6. Cree Alphabet Charts:

    a. These have been placed in all bilingual classrooms

7. Cree Games:

   a. Animal bean bag game
   b. Colors bean bag game
   c. Seasons bean bag game
   d. Rhythmic chant games
   e. Fishing game for animals
   f. Color spinner game
   g. Animals spinner game
   h. Animals ring toss game
   i. Foods bean bag game
   j. Syllabic spinner game
   k. Color ring toss game (made of deer horns)
   l. Rabbit, Rabbit Spinner Game (on counting and numbers)

8. Numbers Posters:

   a. Illustrated Posters, numbers 1-10 in Cree and English have been placed in all bilingual rooms

9. Worksheets

   a. More than four hundred worksheets designed to aid the teacher in teaching animals, relationships, feelings, Cree Syllabic Characters, e.g., have been created by the bilingual staff.

10. Workbooks:

    a. The Rabbit and the Turtle
    b. Animal Workbook
    c. Cree Symbol Workbook

11. Video-tape:

    a. Indian Dance Steps - By Gerald Small and Harriet Standing Rock

12. Stories (flannel board characters are included to go along with the stories)

    a. Wi-sah-ke-chah-k and the Rock
    b. Wi-sah-ke-chah-k and the Closing Eyes Dance

13. Other Instructional Material:

    a. Testing and score sheets for language
    b. Lesson Plans for Language Arts
    c. Language Outline
    d. Lesson Plan for Culture Classes
    e. Recorded tape (both English and Cree) of all words taught this year (5 tapes)
    f. Bulletin Poster for the History of the Church (Luthern Mission). Made by the students: Cynthia Rains, Denice Stump, Juanita Belgarde, Joy Denny. This is one of the classroom projects.

14. Materials to be developed: (Not fully developed)

- a. Filmstrip on "Role of the Father" and "Role of the Mother"
- b. Slide collection on the Months - by Louise Stump
- c. Map of Rocky Boy Reservation
- d. Culture Guide

15. Calendars:

- a. A Picture Calendar, written in Cree Symbols, is completed.

Stories Written in Cree

1. Medicine Man Story
2. Medicine
3. Indian Dance
4. Children being taught
5. Here Reservation News
6. Na-tos First makes the Sundance
7. Na-tos Done Wrong in Powers
8. Na-tos Poor Coyote
9. Na-tos went After Medicine
10. Na-tos Making Money by Power
11. Wi-sah-ke-chah-k Dance with Mice
12. Wi-sah-ke-chah-k's Son went Hunting
13. Ed Little Bear and Low Horn Story
14. Na-tos Heals a Broken Bone
15. B. Samatte Story
16. Wi-sah-ke-chah-k was Hungry
17. Real Story of the Earth
18. God's Laws were Finished
19. Mud Hand Story
20. When Rocky Boy First got the Reservation

Cassette Tapes

1. The Wonderful Round Table
2. Wi-sah-ke-chah-k and the Closing Eyes Dance
3. Wi-sah-ke-chah-k and the Weasel
4. Wi-sah-ke-chah-k and the Bear
5. Buffalo Hunt
6. Cree Alphabet Book
7. Raining Bird's Tapes on Wi-sah-ke-chah-k and the Duck Dance/Fox/Rock
8. Art Raining Bird's Philosophy on the Sundance, Education and Life #1
9. Art Raining Bird's Philosophy, Tape #2
10. Art Raining Bird's tape on First Landing of the White man
11. Art Raining Bird's tape on Wi-sah-ke-chah-k
12. Art Raining Bird's tape on Wi-sah-ke-chah-k and the Duck Dance
13. Buffalo War Party by Windy Boy - tape #1
14. Buffalo War Party by Windy Boy - tape #2
15. Interview with Fred Nault - September 20, 1974 (History of Long Ago)
16. Horse Story by Art Raining Bird
17. Horse Story and Thanksgiving (Cree) by Art Raining Bird

18. Weird Story by Sam Windy Boy, October 9, 1974
19. Interview with Fred Nault - September 23, 1974, Part 1 and 2
20. Fred Nault - Part 1
21. Wi-sah-ke-chah-k by Art Raining Bird
22. Interview with Fred Nault about Himself
23. Side 3 - Four Souls, September 23, 1974. Mark Suagee Interviewer
24. War Party Story #2
25. Windy Boy's talk about O-ki-mi-na-kos
26. By Art Raining Bird - Horse Story
27. The Teaching of the Cree Language/simple basic Cree
28. Cree Symbols Worksheets - At Home and Colors
29. Helen Parker's Early School Life, side 2 Cree Class
30. Three Little Pigs
31. Porcupine - 1st grade
32. Christmas Program - 2nd grade

Songs

1. Arapaho War Dance Songs
2. Grass Dance Songs
3. Parker Singers Grass Dance #1
4. Indian 1970 dance recorded live at Red Lake, Minnesota (War Dance)
5. Mesquakie Bear Singers - Tama, Iowa
6. Ute Singers at Lame Deer - June 1974
7. Pow-wow songs from Rocky Boy - Haystack Singers
8. Parker Jrs., in first grade room
9. Chippewa-Cree Circle Dance/Rocky Boy's Singers

Cassette Workshops

1. Bilingual Saturday Session, Side 2 - January 27, 1973
2. Rodney Soonias, Director, Sask., Cultural College - During Teacher Orientation - August 23, 1973
3. Bilingual Workshop #3, Art Raining Bird talks about the Wardance - May 13, 1972
4. Bilingual Workshop #4, Saturday, January 27, 1973
5. Glen Probst Workshop

Tapes (Reels)

1. Windy Boy, Jim Denny - December 1, 1971
2. Walter A. Denny - talking
3. Bilingual Workshop
4. Bilingual tape
5. Rose Sutherland - 2 stories, 2 tongue twisters and 1 lullaby
6. Establishment of the Reservation by Huntley - tape #1
7. Stories and Legends by Huntley - tape #2
8. Raining Bird's Story on Wisah-ke-chah-k - 3 stories
9. Mixed tape: Jim Denny, Sam Roasting Stick and Fred Huntley
10. Tape #5 - December 1, 1971, Windy Boy and Jim Denny
11. Jim Denny - tape #1
12. Art Raining Bird - Preliminary concerns on the Sundance, Philosophy on Education and Religion

13. Parker Singers
14. Art Raining Bird's Philosophy #2
15. Wi-sah-ke-chah-k runs away from Mother and causes Flood and remakes the world
16. Tape #6 - Huntley and Windy Boy
17. Jim Denny and Fred Huntley History #7
18. #1 Parker Singers
19. Little Bear Memorial
20. Jim Denny and Windy Boy
21. Cree Language Tape - KOJM Radio Station
22. Art Raining Bird's story on Wi-sah-ke-chah-k
23. Tape #9, Sam Roasting Stick and Jim Denny - December 8, 1971
24. Art singing

PANEL III: Excerpts from Discussants' Remarks

DR. MAZON: I ask, and I suggest that we look at bilingual education as a process by which we will accomplish the goal of multicultural education, and by which we will help America achieve cultural pluralism in reality.

MS. CHAVEZ: Because a language minority child is unique in this country, both linguistically and culturally, any attempts at educating him equally will surely fail if this uniqueness is not realized by those charged with his education...

Materials of a transitional nature are lacking. When the child transfers, he often is placed on skills-oriented material (which) bores the child and frustrates the teacher...

(When the transitional) child begins to read in English, say in the third grade, he obviously does not read English at a third grade level. But from that moment on since the transition has been made, he continues in English even though he may be reading at the first grade level. However, emotionally he is beyond that level and the materials that we are forced to use are extremely non-relevant to him...

Our teachers, regardless of their own ethnic background, ideally should be bilingual. Too many tasks have been delegated to the paraprofessional who is bilingual but who has even less training than the teacher when it comes to bilingual/bicultural education...

Many teachers are now adapting materials, but it is an extremely time-consuming task. We must make an effort to share a little bit more...

ESL as an instructional component is vital since we are preparing students to succeed in an English dominant society. However, the materials and content matter should be relevant and should not ...be an isolated subject. (Let it) reinforce the child's own culture as he acquires knowledge in the dominant culture. Very few materials are now available which are relevant in this sense...

Once the child is reading at grade level in his second language, the tendency is to shift the attention solely to that language. Whenever the resources are available, this shift should be avoided. Materials in this area are needed. We need a variety of reading programs...which are just as exciting and just as motivating as the readers that we have in the English counterpart.

(Dr. Young's proposals regarding reciprocal bilingual programs merit close attention). It might have some very positive ramifications in the integration effort... if Anglo children come (to minority schools) for a meaningful experience, at the secondary level, if we had good Chicano studies programs, good art programs, whatever it might be, then we could start a process. This would be reciprocal and ideal...As long as we have to do something about integrating communities, we may be able to do a far better job if we look at what our bilingual/bicultural programs have to offer.

PANEL III: Synopsis of Floor Discussion

There was enthusiastic support for the reciprocal bilingual concept, the need to educate the dominant society. It was pointed out that teacher training institutions are not yet producing qualified bilingual teachers in sufficient numbers. Bilingual teacher training programs need to be expanded into a major component of the teacher training effort.

PANEL IV: Introductory Statement

Panel IV addressed topic "6" (see page 4). The Principal Investigators were Dr. Robert Cervantes and Ms. Carmen Anna Perez. Dr. Cervantes' paper was entitled "Teacher Behavior and Cultural Responsiveness." Ms. Perez' paper was entitled "Recommended Policies for the Implementation of Bilingual Education Teacher Training Programs." Serving as Discussants were Mr. Ray Rodriguez, Director of the Lau General Assistance Center, Albuquerque, New Mexico and Ms. Sara Gallo, Assistant Director for Bilingual Programs in the Houston (TX) Independent School District. The Panel was presided over by Ms. Emma J. Rodriguez, member of the Lau Project Advisory Board. Dr. Cervantes' and Ms. Perez' papers are reproduced on the following pages.

TEACHER BEHAVIORS AND CULTURAL RESPONSIVENESS: THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Robert A. Cervantes

Development Associates, Inc.

INTRODUCTION

Mexican American children constitute the second largest minority group within the nation's public school system (Grebler, Moore & Guzman, 1970). The problems of this group have been, and continue to be, serious in terms of academic achievement, as evidenced by the present body of educational research on Mexican Americans (Coleman, 1966; Mayeske, 1969; U.S. Civil Rights Commission Reports, 1971, 1974).

The mandate to improve the achievement level of Mexican American children by providing them with equitable and quality education stems from a history of legal action, federal legislation for compensatory and bilingual education, and the increasing recognition to deal with the cultural attributes of students. More recently, the Lau vs. Nichols case had prompted examination of classroom teacher behaviors and culture responsiveness as potentially critical factors necessary to improve student achievement outcomes. This paper briefly reviews selected teacher behaviors research, their limitations, and discusses the issues of what may constitute appropriate cultural responsiveness.

Identification of Teacher Behaviors

A number of educational theorists have long recognized that teacher behaviors may be one of the most critical variables related to student learning. Presumably, if teacher behaviors could be identified, the instructional process could be modified to employ effective strategies which offer options to increase student learning.

The investigations of teacher behaviors, defined here as the identifiable pattern and grouping of consistent teacher characteristics and their effects on the learning process, have been developmental and diverse. Early attempts to provide measures of teacher and pupil classroom behavior conducted by Horn (1914), Puckett (1928), Thomas, _et al_ (1929) and Wrightstone (1934), although important development efforts, were based on limited constructs of teacher behavior such as authoritarian versus permissive or project versus subject-matter methods.

During the 1950's, much of the research in teacher behaviors focused on teacher role. Kinney (1952), for example, developed a broad classification schema of teacher roles both within and without the classroom. Fishburn (1955) expanded Kinney's classification system into six areas of teacher role as a director of learning, guidance and counseling, mediator of the culture, liaison between school and community, and member of the school community and teaching profession.

Havighurst & Neugarten (1957) also developed a classification system of teacher behavior into dichotomous constructs of roles in relation to adults (i.e., employee, colleague, advisor), and pupils (i.e., teacher, disciplinarian). Nedelsky (1952) had attempted a classification of situation behaviors in terms of teacher interaction with pupils. Situation behavior included such actions as the teacher influencing group attitudes, channeling pupil attitudes, and teaching basic skills. This classification schema suffers from the lack of consistency and integration according to Wallen & Travers (1971).

Teacher Affective and Cognitive Characteristics

Teacher personality and characteristics have, in addition to teacher roles, received increased attention. Teacher attitudes, values, personality, demographic characteristics, and cognitive abilities have generally been the focus of educational research. The studies in these areas are extensive and have been reviewed by Getzels & Jackson (1971), and others.

Particularly noteworthy research of teacher attitudes were those conducted by Leeds (1950), resulting in development of the Minnesota Teacher Attitude Inventory (MTAI), and that of Callis (1953). The Leeds study concluded that classroom teacher-pupil relations were associated with teacher attitudes as measured by the MTAI. The Callis study found significant attitude changes in teachers during teacher training as well as significant differences among teacher major curricular groupings. Although the MTAI had been used in research regarding teacher-training institutions, sex, teaching experience and subject matter, the reported conclusions of many studies are inconsistent (Getzels & Jackson, 1971).

A number of investigations have also been conducted on teacher attitudes to other personality measures such as temperament, interest and personality constructs inferred in the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory, the California (Authoritarianism) F-Scale and similar instruments.

In their study of the relationship between the MTAI and selected MMPI scales, Cook & Medley (1955) found significant personality differences between teachers having a high rapport with students, and teachers with a low rapport with their students, but stated that such personality differences were not justified. A study by Wandt (1954), investigating the attitudes of superior and inferior teachers using an investigator-specific scale, reported that teacher behavior and attitudes towards both pupils and administrators are significantly related. In a subsequent study, McGee (1955), using a classroom observation measure and F-Scale, reported a positive significant relationship between teachers' observed authoritarian classroom behavior and the F-Scale. Significant differences were found between sexes, with men scoring significantly lower on authoritarianism than females. Lindgren & Patten (1958) also reported that based on the MTAI and F-Scales used to study high school and elementary teachers, the latter group scored significantly more positive with respect to more favorable attitudes toward children and acceptance of contemporary educational theory.

Although a large number of other studies have been conducted, it must be noted that the strength of presumed relations are generally abour r=.30 or lower, which raises questions of generalizability. Additionally, researchers such as Coleman (1954), Gage, Leavitt & Stone (1957), Budd & Blakely (1958), are among those who have questioned the methodological and psychometric qualities of the instruments and/or studies.

An area that appears particularly relevant to teacher-behaviors and cultural responsiveness is teacher values. Getzels (1969) argued the lower class child, in contrast to middle class child, may face severe discontinuity between the values he has internalized and those that are functional in the school setting. Such discontinuity might affect not only his behavior toward that school, but the school's behavior toward him.

Early studies conducted by Wickman (1928), in the area of teacher characteristics and classroom interaction, suggested that middle class teachers internalized the value orientations of their social class and used these as standards for judging pupil behaviors. These systems appeared to play a significant role in mediating teacher perceptions about student behavior.

In a study of Chicago teachers, Becker (1952) found that teachers had conflicting middle class value systems that alienated them from lower class students. Davidson & Lang (1960) discovered that teachers rated the classroom behavior of disadvantaged children as undesirable even when the children's academic performance was good. Davis and Dollard (1940) argued that social class value orientations of the teacher entered the teaching-learning process in two ways: one, by governing the teacher's distribution of rewards and punishment, and two, by determining which kinds of pupil behaviors would be rewarding to the teacher.

Della Piana & Gage (1955) were among those who proposed that classroom behavior is a function of the teacher's characteristics as well as pupil values and needs. Della Piana & Gage pointed out the findings of their research that positive pupil's affective value (as measured by the "My Teacher" scale) correspond to teacher's MTAI score, and asserted that the values of pupils are significant factors in the classroom effectiveness of teachers.

The MacLean, Gowan & Gowan (1955) investigation, predicated on the earlier Allport, Vernon & Lindzey Study of Values (1951), reported sex and teacher specialty differences among teacher candidates in economic, aesthetic and social values. Male education majors scored lower in economic and higher in social values than the other males in general. Women majors scored lower in economic and religious values and higher in theoretical values than other women in general. Significant sex, value and teaching specialty interactions were reported for physical education majors only.

A recent values study of Mexican American teachers and pupils by Munoz (1975) found that low and middle income students held similar school related values which differed significantly from those held by teachers. Student responses to items related to classroom normative climate, interest level, and educational changes were consistently negative. In contract, most teachers expressed positive opinions about the classroom. The study concluded that there were significant disparities between teachers and students regarding their values and perceptions of classroom experience. It was posited that students have been socialized and have internalized certain middle class values or orientations whereas teachers had both internalized and rejected certain middle class values.

Teacher Personality Characteristics

One of the most extensive investigations of teacher characteristics was that conducted by Ryans (1960), the findings of which have been discussed elsewhere. Of particular interest, however, is Ryan's schedule of nine "personality" characteristics derived from a large number of teacher groups based on teacher attitudes, verbal ability, and emotional stability. The correlation of teacher "personality" characteristics to teacher classroom behavior revealed some significant differences between age, length of teaching experience, sex, elementary versus secondary teaching, and certain demographic characteristics.

Other studies had revealed similar although inconclusive results. Cervantes (1975), for example, had found significant relationships between locus of control to classroom emotional climate and teacher interpersonal style. Earlier studies by Davis & Phares (1967), Lefcourt & Wine (1969) had also reported that internal locus teachers tended to be more open, actively sought information, supported innovation, and were more able to resolve uncertainties.

Teacher Effectiveness

Much of the early 1940's research in assessing teacher effectiveness had tended to be based on heuristic rather than empirical grounds. Since then, the application of applied and experimental psychology and use of descriptive and inferential statistics in teacher and classroom investigations, beginning in the mid 1950's, had improved the quantification and analysis of data. Since then, some teacher effectiveness has focused on attempting to quantify teacher-effectiveness variables and drawing inferences based on macro-level units of analysis such as certain categories of observable behavior in the classroom. In this regard, the work and instrumentation produced by Flanders, Medley & Mitzel, Guiford and others have received considerable attention although many subsequent studies have produced inconsistent findings.

Research involving micro-level analysis of teacher behaviors, such as discrete teaching techniques (i.e., type and amount of questioning) in terms of learner outcomes, is scant as evidenced by the review of Rosenshine (1976) and Soar (1975). Rosenshine's review of selected studies did, however, reveal some consistent patterns such as positive significant correlations in use of "direct, narrow questions" in reading and math and negative significant correlations of "student independent study without teacher," "student inattention, misbehavior," and "time on non-curricular activities." Soar had demonstrated the serious methodological issues of attempting to integrate research findings but also illustrated some consistent trends, such as (1) the exercise of teacher control of pupils' learning (i.e., open classroom concept, behavior modification), (2) learning conditions (i.e., tightly structured group work for concrete subjects versus independent work for abstract, complex tasks), (3) amount of teacher-pupil interaction in relation to pupil high cognitive level activities (4) the interaction of SES with affective expression, and (5) a relationship between SES and internality of control.

Limitation of Teacher Behavior Research

As the preceding review of selected literature on teacher behaviors suggests, there is a quantity, if not quality, of research available. Careful examination of the methodology, instrumentation, research controls or lack of them, vividly demonstrate that despite some technological advances teacher behavior research suffers from severe limitations.

Wallen & Travers (1971) have pointed out, for example, that much of the research in teacher effectiveness "can hardly be conceived as constituting a program of scientific research" (p. 466). Many studies are investigator-specific which lack well-defined teacher variables, experimental controls or are based on unreasonable assumptions. Similar observations have been made by Getzels and Jackson (1971), Medley and Mitzel (1963), Ryans (1960), Soar (1975), Rosenshine (1976) and others.

Moreover, it must be noted that the methodological limitations cannot be separated from the apparent theoretical vacuum in teacher behavior research in general, and with respect to the educational and social needs of minority students in particular. Indeed, it is this issue above all others that must be addressed if substantive progress is to be made to expand our understanding of teacher behavior in terms of cultural responsiveness to minority students.

Teacher Behaviors and Cultural Responsiveness

As suggested, there are several basic issues that significantly pertain to teacher behaviors and cultural responsiveness.

1. The explication of a theoretical foundation;
2. The definition(s) of what constitute appropriate cultural responsiveness;
3. Teacher behaviors and training.

Each of these is discussed in the order raised.

Explication of Theoretical Foundation

It had been commonly assumed that many prevailing educational processes and teaching practices were appropriate for use in the implementation and conduct of programs specifically related to minority children such as those funded by the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Migrant Education and Bilingual-Bicultural education. From an historical perspective, the so-called educational deficiencies these programs were to rectify were, to various degrees, explained on the basis of the "culture of poverty," "cultural determinism," or "cultural deprivation." In retrospect, these were nothing more than a rationalization to excuse the weak development of positive educational programs.

More recently, the notion of pupil and institutional "incompatibility" has been the basis of proposing major educational changes. Indeed, the rationale for Bilingual-Bicultural programs is based on the unique social, cultural and educational needs and attributes of Mexican American students which somehow must be addressed without explication of the theory or process. These, however, can hardly be said to constitute a theoretical framework.

That Bilingual-Bicultural programs are critical to improving the educational status of Mexican American children is not questioned. Rather, that there is a void in an underlying theory which would serve as a strong foundation necessary to successfully meet present and future program and funding challenges.

Galarza (1972), for example, has admonished that many educational programs directed at Mexican American students may represent nothing more than a "headstart up short alleys" unless they reflect a cultural reassertion of the Mexican American community and an articulation of an emerging Mexican American concept of education. Similarly, Chavez (1956), and DeLeon (1959(had also called attention to the need to recognize an emerging philosophy of education for Mexican Americans. It is precisely the articulation of this philosophy and its explication into theory that begs attention.

Definitions of Cultural Responsiveness

Another serious issue confronting examination of teacher behavior related to instruction of minority students is a definition of cultural responsiveness. Precisely, what is cultural responsiveness? More often than not, cultural responsiveness in Bilingual-Bicultural education generally refers to use of pupils' home language, such as Spanish, bilingual curriculum and relevant historical and social events in the instructional process. Cultural responsiveness also refers to a certain, but undefined, teacher awareness and sensitivity to Mexican American students and to reinforcement of their pride and cultural heritage. But these global concepts, while important, lack empirical precision.

More recently, Ramirez and Castañeda (1975) have posited that Mexican American children are bicognitive and suggested that cognitive styles stem from one's socialization (i.e., cultural) environment. While this proposition is interesting, it lacks empirical verification and does not establish causality nor recognize the possible interaction effects of other variables. No doubt the question of whether cognitive styles of Mexican Americans are culturally based, which is being researched by the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory, will provide timely and important new data in identifying "cultural responsiveness."

Last, it is critical to note that (1) the distinction between discrete identifiable cultural attributes from socioeconomic factors is lacking and (2) that possible relationships between cultural attributes and teacher behaviors to pupil learning merit study. The disciplines of anthropology and psychology suggest that this abstraction we call "cultural" is the manifestation of multiple factors (i.e., norms, socialization, behavior, and language) and is inherently complex. Perhaps our failure to delineate distinct cultural attributes and thus "appropriate" cultural responses in the educational setting is due to both asking simplistic questions and lack of a theoretical or conceptual framework. This observation led Cervantes (1976) to conclude that the interaction of socioeconomic, personality, and pedagogical elements merit increased attention to advance the present body of research, and thus improve education for Mexican Americans.

Present day "cultural" concepts in bilingual-bicultural education are not particularly useful. To propose that there are "unique cultural variables" in education that affect certain aspects of the teaching or learning environment of Mexican American students, in itself, does not provide the illuminating insights required to meet the serious educational problems of today. To be useful, specific variables must be identified within the wider Mexican American cultural context and testable hypotheses must be articulated. In this regard, it may be productive to delineate such variables by examination of certain social and/or cultural regularities exhibited in Mexican American culture within social psychological and learning theory perspectives.

It may well be that "cultural responsiveness," in the educational milieu, is akin to the mediating convergence of various social environments, perceptions and communication modes that constitute one's micro-culture in the classroom. That is, there are certain classroom variables that affect the teaching and learning environment such as individual and collective behaviors, social perceptions, normative influence and language. In this context, social environment refers to social background, value systems and beliefs; perceptions refer to consistencies of perceptual and cognitive styles related to personality; and, communication modalities refer to language, its variations and sensory experiences. The following Venn diagram illustrates these interactions.

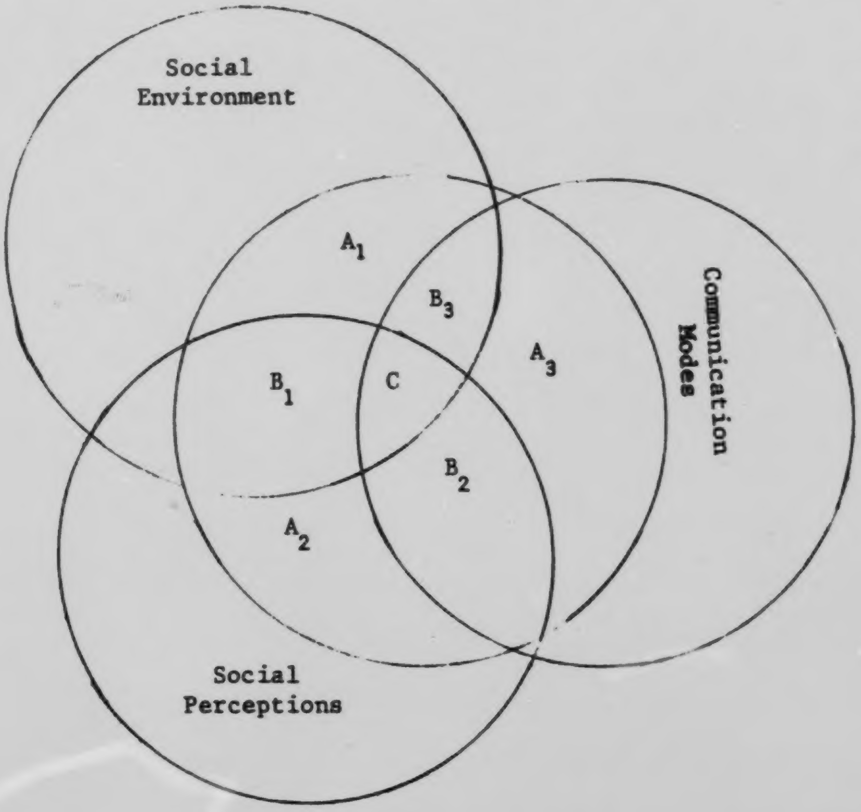
In the Venn diagram A_1 through B_3 represent profiles of pupil attributes such as particular socioeconomic level (A1), attitudes (A_2), cognitive style (A_3), self-concept (B_1), language dominance (B_2) and achievement growth (B_3). The symbol "C" designates the convergence and interaction of these attributes in the learning process. In this fashion, both teacher behaviors and factors affecting pupil growth may be examined by factor analysis, path analysis and/or multiple regression techniques. This procedure of developing pupil and teacher profiles and examining their relations to pupil achievement has been used successfully by Cervantes, Jones et al (1976) in a recent four-year longitudinal study.

Moreover, this paradigm of "cultural responsiveness" offers the advantage of being grounded in contemporary theory and lends itself to variable specification, and hypothesis testing. In summary, it is posited that "cultural responsiveness" in education is the process of understanding the manifestation and interaction of social psychological variables related to teaching and learning, and mediating these to maximize pupil achievement.

It would appear logical to note that some social psychological variables can be shown to be predicatively related to certain cultural contexts. But certainly, "culture" cannot ipso facto be considered the sole determinant of differences. Variables related to teacher behaviors and pupil learning consist of properties that are molded as a result of social and environmental conditions.

The introduction of "cultural responsiveness" in education represents a new and ambiguous dimension. It appears critical that this area receive research priority. Until this is done we will be forced to continue to rely on subjective judgments of what constitutes appropriate "cultural responsiveness and teacher behaviors."

Figure 1: Interaction of Cultural Responsive Variables


Social Environment
A1
B3
A3
Communication Modes
B1
C
B2
A2
Social Perceptions

Simultaneously, attention must be directed at altering present teacher training programs to construct the foundation for an empirically based approach to "cultural responsiveness."

Teacher Training

The passage of the Bilingual-Bicultural Education Act of 1968 found most, if not all, schools ill-prepared to meet classroom teacher needs. Consequently, many Spanish-surname teachers (and those who could speak Spanish or had a high concentration of Mexican American pupils) were designated as bilingual-bicultural teachers, while in other classrooms, aides became surrogate teachers. To meet the serious shortage of qualified bilingual-bicultural teachers, the process of inservice training has been generally relied upon to provide teachers with new skills.

Under ideal circumstances, the qualified bilingual-bicultural teacher would be fluent in Spanish, knowledgeable in phonetics and oral language development, diagnostic techniques, small group and individualized instruction techniques, basic knowledge of testing issues and techniques, Mexican American history and contemporary social issues, counseling skills and a host of instructional strategies in the area of certification, to name a few. The reality is that few teachers have all the skills noted above. While inservice training helps fill the void, much more remains to be done.

First, reexamination of the inservice processes and content merits review. Normally, much of the present inservice consists of several days of presentations by "experts" and may also include handouts, role playing, and perhaps simulation games. Teachers usually have little input into issues to be addressed or presentation methods. Moreover, there is generally no individual teacher attention nor follow-up in the classroom. To improve inservice training, teachers should have input, including designation of topical issues, small group work and individualized problem solving, and periodic classroom follow-up.

Second, teacher training institutions should also reexamine course work leading to certification. Several studies have concluded that teachers rate their academic preparation as inadequate to meet the demands placed upon them in their teaching assignments. Basic course work should include learning and linguistic theories, diagnostic techniques, research principles and methods, prescriptive teaching, and a minimum of three semesters of student teaching under a diverse set of educational conditions and in different socioeconomic areas.

Third, it is critical to attempt to define the kinds of additional new skills bilingual-bicultural teachers will need three, five, and ten years from now. No one, it appears, has addressed the issue of the future of bilingual-bicultural education in terms of pupil or teacher needs. It is only by examination of future needs that one can bridge the technological gaps that exist. "Futures" planning, based on population projections, enrollment needs, social and educational issues, while speculative, can provide helpful insights into designing teacher training programs.

Last, it is important to recognize the complexity of skills and demands made of bilingual-bicultural teachers today. One expects teachers to have a large repertoire of teacher behaviors and skills to maximize student learning vis-a-vis cultural responsiveness. Assuming such a repertoire, it would appear that teachers could become important partners, however limited, in assisting researchers to define what constitutes appropriate teacher behavior and cultural responsiveness. Such teachers must begin to receive increased recognition, supportive and administrative services, and involvement in research that affects them and their pupils.

Conclusions

It is generally agreed that a complex set of factors influences the learning environment of any classroom, including the personalities and abilities of the teacher and students, curriculum resources, class and school climate. Similarly, it is often assumed that the complexity of forces that affect the learning environment are more pronounced in schools serving predominantly minority group children. Although teachers have been the subjects of numerous studies, little is known about the phenomenon of teacher behavior as related to their classroom behavior and learner outcomes.

Given the limitations of the present state-of-the-art, the question of what constitutes appropriate teacher behaviors and cultural responsiveness cannot be answered. The reasons are multiple: a theoretical void, methodological and instrumentation limitations, imprecise definitions of behavior and cultural responsiveness and diversity of intervening variables to name but a few.

Many of the present efforts to increase the achievement level of Mexican American students have focused on curriculum and instructional methods without concomitant efforts in attempting to determine their relationship to teacher and pupil behavior profiles. While some curriculum and instructional methods, such as individualized, self-paced instruction, have met with some success in increasing achievement of Mexican American students, greater emphasis must be placed on researching the teacher-learner processes. In this regard, examination of teacher and pupil personality-cognitive attributes, teacher instructional methods and modeling, and learner outcomes appear to be the critical areas for serious empirical research.

In addition, the delineation of what constitutes appropriate teacher behaviors and cultural responsiveness require the examination of present assumptions underlying bilingual bicultural education. For example, it has been commonly assumed that Mexican American students have a low academic self-concept, and that by enhancing their self-concepts, achievement gains would result. Much of the recent research indicates there is no basis for the first assumption. Although there is generally a low significant relationship between self-concept and achievement, self-concept accounts for less than three percent of the variance in academic achievement (Cervantes, 1976; Sharp, Cervantes and Jones, 1975; Cervantes, Jones, _et al_, 1976).

Indeed, the question of what constitutes sound pedagogy versus cultural responsiveness, in terms of Mexican American learner characteristics, remains unanswered. The challenge to teachers, researchers and school administrators appears self evident.

Bibliography

Budd, W. C. and Blakeley, Lynda S. Response bias on the Minnesota Teacher Attitude Inventory. Journal of Educational Research, 1958, 51, 707-709.

Callis, R. Change in teacher-pupil attitudes related to training and experience. Educational Psychology Measurement, 1950, 10, 718-727.

Cervantes, Robert A. Locus of Control and Achievement of Mexican American Pupils. National Institute of Education, Washington, D.C., February 1976.

__________. Self-Concept, Locus of Control and Achievement in Mexican American Pupils. Paper presented at the Third Annual Conference on Bilingual-Bicultural Education, San Francisco, CA, February 1976.

__________ and Bernal, Helen. A Comparative Analysis of English and Spanish Reading Performance of Mexican American Students. National Institute of Education, Washington, D.C., June 1976.

__________ and Jones, Earl, et. al. Second Interim Report on the Edgewood School Plan. National Institute of Education, Washington, D.C., January 1976.

Coleman, James, et. al. Equality of Educational Opportunity. Washington, D.C., Superintendent of Public Documents, 1966.

Coleman, W. Susceptibility of the Minnesota Teacher Attitude Inventory to "faking" with Experienced Teachers. Educational Administrator Superv., 1954, 40, 234-237.

Cook, W. W. and Medley, D. M. The Relationship Between Minnesota Teacher Attitude Inventory Scores and Scores on Certain Scales of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory. Journal of Applied Psychology, 1955, 39, 123-129.

Davis, W. L. and Phares, E. Jerry. Internal-External Control as a Determinant of Information-Seeking in a Social Influence Situation. Journal of Pers. 1967, 35, 547-561.

DeLeon, M. W. Wanted: A New Educational Philosophy for the Mexican American. Cal. Journal of Secondary Education, 1959, 34, 398-402.

Della Piana, G. M. and Gage, N. L. Pupils' Values and the Validity of the Minnesota Teacher Attitude Inventory. Journal of Educational Psychology 1955, 46, 167-178.

Fishburn, C. E. Teacher Role Perception in the Secondary School of One Community. Dissertation abstract, 1955, 15, 1798-1799.

Gage, N. L., Leavitt, G. S. and Stone, G. C. The Psychological Meaning of Acquiescence Set for Authoritarianism. Journal Abnormal Sociology Psychology, 1957, 55, 98-103.

Galarza, Ernesto. Mexicans in the Southwest: A Culture in Process. *in* Spicer, Edward H. and Thompson, Raymond H. (eds.) Plural Society in the Southwest. New York, Weatherhead Foundation, 1972.

Getzels, J. W. and Jackson, P. W. Teacher Personality and Characteristics. *in* Gage, N. L. (ed.) Handbook of Research on Teaching. Chicago, Rand McNally, 1971.

Havighurst, R. J. and Neugarten, B. L. Society and Education. Boston, Allyn and Bacon, 1957.

Kinney, L. B. Measure of a Good Teacher. San Francisco, California Teachers Association, 1952.

Leeds, C. H. A Scale for Measuring Teacher-Pupil Attitudes and Teacher-Pupil Rapport. *Psychology Monograph*, 1950, 63, No. 6 (Whole no. 312).

Lefcourt, Herbert and Wine, Jerry. Internal versus External Control of Reinforcement and Deployment of Attention in Experimental Situations. *Canadian Journal of Behavioral Science*, 1969, 3, I.

Lindgren, H. C. and Patton, G. M. Attitudes of High School and Other Teachers Toward Children and Current Educational Methodology. *California Journal of Educational Research*, 1958, 9, 80-85.

MacLean, M. S., Gowan, M. S. and Gowan, J. C. A Teacher Selection and Counseling Service. *Journal of Educational Research*, 1955, 48, 669-677.

Mayeske, George W. Educational Achievement Among Mexican Americans. Washington, D.C., National Center for Educational Statistics, 1969 (Technical note 22).

McGee, H. M. Measurement of Authoritarianism and its Relation to Teachers' Classroom Behavior. *Genetic Psychology Monograph,* 1955, 52, 89-146.

Medley, Donald M. and Mitzel, Harold E. Measuring Classroom Behavior by Systematic Observation. *in* Gage, N. L. (ed.) Handbook of Research on Teaching. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1971.

Muñoz, Adolfo. Teacher-Student Values. *in* Cervantes, Robert A. and Jones, Earl, *et*. *al*. Second Interim Report on the Edgewood School Plan. National Institute of Education, Washington, D.C., January 1976.

Nedelsky, R. The Teacher's Role in the Peer Group During Middle Childhood. *Elementary School Journal*, 1952, 52, 325, 334.

Rosenshine, Barak. Recent Research on Teaching Behaviors and Student Achievement. Paper presented at the National Invitational Conference on Research on Teacher Effects, Austin, Texas, February 1975.

Ryans, D. G. Characteristics of Teachers. Washington, D.C., American Council on Education, 1960.

Soar, Robert. An Integration of Findings From Four Studies of Teacher Effectiveness. Paper presented at the Invitational Conference on Research on Effective Teaching. National Institute of Education and California Commission on Teacher Preparation and Licensing, San Diego, California, August 26-29, 1975.

Thomas, Dorothy S. et. al. Some New Techniques for Studying Social Behavior.

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Report II. The Unfinished Education. Washington, D.C., Superintendent of Public Documents, 1971.

__________. Robert IV: Toward Equality of Education for Mexican Americans. Washington, D.C., Superintendent of Public Documents, 1971.

Wallen, Norman E and Travers, Robert M. W. Analysis and Investigation of Teaching Methods. in Gage, N.L. (ed.) Handbook of Research on Teaching. Rand McNally & Company, 1971.

Wandt, E. A Comparison of the Attitudes of Contrasting Groups of Teachers. Educational Psychology Measurement, 1954, 14, 418-422.

Wickman, E. K. Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes. New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1928.

RECOMMENDED PLAN FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF A BILINGUAL TEACHER TRAINING PROGRAM AT THE LOCAL SCHOOL DISTRICTS

Carmen A. Perez

University of New York, Albany

My definition of a bilingual teacher is one who is knowledgeable and sensitive to two cultures and who possesses knowledges, skills and competencies required to provide instruction of and through two languages to students who are bilingual or in the process of becoming bilingual and bicultural.

If we analyze it carefully what we expect from a bilingual teacher is four in one. We expect the bilingual teacher to be:

one - a foreign language teacher

two - an ESL teacher

three - a teacher of a given curriculum area in English

four - a teacher of a given curriculum area in language other than English

In short the bilingual educator is expected to be a four-in-one "super teacher."

Most of us will agree that the success of any instructional program is greatly dependent on the skills, sensitivity and commitment of the instructional personnel responsible for its implementation. It therefore follows that an effective staff preparation program is the foundation on which to build and implement the bilingual education we consider imperative for the improvement of educational opportunities for our bilingual students. The effective bilingual teacher must demonstrate the same competencies and skills expected of the non-bilingual teacher with the additional requirements of bilingualism and biculturalism. Sensitivity and positive attitudes towards the social, cultural, linguistic and pedagogical needs of the minority students should be essential characteristics of all teachers, but ones we demand especially of bilingual teachers. We expect the bilingual teacher to also be cognizant of the learning styles associated with the cultural background of the students and be expert at adjusting teaching strategies accordingly.

Another expected characteristic of the bilingual teacher is to be able to provide instruction of and through two languages. This skill requires knowledge of the curriculum, the terminology associated with it and the methods for developing it according to the languages and cultures involved. Knowing the curriculum and methods for its implementation in a particular subject area in one language is not necessarily an indicator of competency to teach the same subject through the other language. Although teaching methodology can be transferred smoothly from one language to the other, attempting to do it in cases where it doesn't apply can be harmful to the recipients of this instruction. This is especially true in the case of language arts and reading instruction where each language must be developed separately. Using incorrect terminology when teaching technical subjects such as math or science can create a frustrating situation for the student who has internalized it and is unable to apply it to other grades.

In addition to teaching subject matter through two languages the bilingual teacher must also be able to teach both languages through the use of proper first and second language techniques. The skills needed for effective second language teaching are normally acquired after in-depth study of second language theory, and practice of second language teaching techniques.

In summary, the teacher must be able to demonstrate minimum competencies in sound practices of guiding students to acquiring the knowledge, skills and attitudes identified and required by the local community, and to be a bilingual education expert, a second language expert, specialist, et cetera, et cetera, et cetera.

The bilingual educator must, by necessity, be a "super teacher," a "super maestro" and the training program chosen to prepare such an educator must be carefully organized. Before a school district can begin to implement the relevant and efficient staff development program which will produce these "super maestros" it must formulate staff development objectives and strategies based on a thorough and realistic needs assessment.

The ideas I'm going to share with you today are based on my personal experiences as a teacher, a director of an elementary school bilingual program and a trainer of teachers at an institution of higher education. I'm going to suggest a plan designed to provide broad guidelines for the establishment of a preparation program which meets the needs of a school district. I've divided my plan into three phases.

Phase I, which I've called "Preliminary Activities," involves gathering all the data necessary to formulate realistic objectives. The activities suggested in Phase II, "Personnel Needs Assessment," are designed to lead the district to selecting the personnel and identifying their individual training needs. Upon completion of Phase III "Program Planning" the district should be ready to implement a teaching training program tailor-made to meet the individual and unique needs of the district.

Phase I - Preliminary Activities

Phase I is composed of three major components two of which can be developed concurrently. Before moving ahead, a district must assess its instructional needs and identify and adopt the bilingual education philosophy it is willing to support. Since the staff development program is intended to prepare bilingual teachers to work more efficiently and effectively with the students in the school district they are to serve, it can be planned only after the students' needs are carefully identified. Assessment of the students' academic achievement, linguistic proficiency and socioeconomic status will dictate the goals and objectives of the training program.

Concurrently with or even before this activity is conducted, it is important that the district adopt a philosophical base for its bilingual program through the collaborative efforts of community representatives and school officials. Clarification and identification of the type of bilingual program which will be implemented will influence the goals and objectives of the preparation program to be developed. The importance of community involvement in this activity cannot be overemphasized for if the community does not support an educational program its potential for success will diminish considerably.

The short and long range objectives of any educational program should be identified by members of that community and more specifically by parents of the students most affected by the decision. Before planning a bilingual program a school district must decide whether its goals will be transitional or maintenance since this will influence the design to be used and the number and type of personnel needed. I am not discussing an English as a second language program because these must not be put under the category of bilingual education although we know that ESL is one of its integral parts.

The information obtained from the needs assessment and the programmatic philosophy adopted should be utilized to formulate the educational objectives for the bilingual program in the district. The objectives should be used as guidelines for identifying the teaching competencies and skills needed to implement a program relevant to the needs identified. This information should also serve as a basis for establishing the staff qualification most suited for a successful program.

Phase II - Personnel Needs Assessment

Phase II is composed of activities leading to the recruitment of personnel and assessment of their competencies and skills in bilingual education. A reason often given by school districts for not introducing bilingual education is the claim of the inaccessibility of qualified bilingual instructional personnel. A few years ago, this was a sad reality, but the recent progress made in the recruitment and training of instructional personnel to work in bilingual programs has weakened that argument considerably. A well organized recruitment effort will usually produce positive results in identifying potential personnel. Various sources should be tapped in the recruitment effort such as the existing staff, the community and the colleges and universities. Sometimes recruiting outside of the district or state will obtain positive results. Some cities have greater numbers of potentially good bilingual teachers than others.

Sometimes the most obvious is overlooked. In trying to locate bilingual personnel districts should start by surveying their own staff for bilingual persons who might be interested and qualified to become bilingual teachers after some intensive training. One added benefit of this possibility is that by reassigning personnel the district might be able to cut down on the number of new staff that should be hired.

Retraining programs for bilingual persons in other fields is another way in which districts can increase their pool of bilingual teachers. This has been particularly successful in New York City through the Bilingual Pupil Personnel Services under the Office of Bilingual Education. Persons with a minimum of two years of undergraduate work are given assistance in completing their degree while participating in a field oriented training program. Trainees are assigned to bilingual projects for their field training during the day and attend courses at a college evenings. While in the field the trainees are under the direct supervision of the school staff.

Through these collaborative efforts among the college, the Board of Education and local school districts the number of bilingual personnel has grown significantly.

Once the bilingual staff has been identified, a second needs assessment should be conducted for the purpose of identifying the strengths and weaknesses of each candidate. As program directors and teacher trainers we sometimes make staff training decisions without first examining the individual needs of the staff these are intended to serve. We advocate and support the advantages of individualized instruction for children and ignore this sound principle when dealing with adults. For example, how often do we take for granted that bilingual teachers have complete proficiency and command of all the skills in both languages? It is important to determine their degree of bilingualism and proficiency in each language, since it has been observed that teachers dominant in one language, and insecure in some aspects of the other language have a tendency to conduct most of their instruction through the stronger language. This can affect the proper implementation of the program designed and interfere with the accomplishment of the stated objectives. The staff needs assessment suggested can reveal this situation early enough to make provisions for its improvement through staff training activities.

In summary, the content of the training program must reflect the needs of the instructional personnel. Steps must be taken to insure that these needs are identified carefully and immediately after the staff has been selected. As educators we have no problems accepting the premise that a student's education must be built upon the skills and knowledge he brings to the school. In an effort to follow this philosophy I conducted a survey of the staff training needs for the instructional staff in two school districts in New York State by administering a simple questionnaire I developed. The responses to the questionnaire revealed some incongruity with the kind of staff training program being planned by the program administrators and the university. The questionnaire administered was answered by 23 teachers and 28 paraprofessionals, all bilingual English-Spanish. The respondents were asked to identify their professional and educational goals, assess their proficiency in each language involved, identify their dominant language, list their strengths and weaknesses in teaching and identify the areas they felt the greatest need for improvement. Let me share some of the results with you.

I found that this group of bilingual educators make up a relatively young population with the mean age for paraprofessionals being 30 years and 29 for the teaching staff. The survey revealed that a majority of the paraprofessionals have lived more than half their lives in the United States. Eight of the 15 teachers indicated that they have lived all of their lives in the United States and all others have been here for more than half of their lives. This information supported their stated requests for more courses in grammar and advanced conversation in Spanish as well as courses in Puerto Rican history and culture.

Sixty-nine percent of the paraprofessionals have worked in the schools for three years or more representing considerable experience in this field. This information should be considered when planning their professional training program since it can be anticipated that they have acquired some degree of instructional skills while on the job. Coupled with the fact that 57 percent identified a bachelors degree as their educational goal with 68 percent wishing to become certified teachers, every effort should be made to insure that the training they receive is such that their educational and professional aspirations are also satisfied. A performance based college degree oriented program might be the most relevant type for this population since it would provide opportunity to increase teaching skills while at the same time recognize the skills already acquired on the job. Through performance based teacher education programs the participants would be able to earn credit for their experience and have the opportunity of getting closer to their educational and professional goals and aspirations.

Although the teachers are a relatively young group, they have a respectable amount of experience in education with 82 percent having taught for three or more years. Their experience in bilingual education is comparatively less, with a relatively even distribution among one to four years. This information also supports their request for a staff training program with an emphasis on methodology and curriculum through Spanish.

Respondents were asked to identify the language or languages in which they had received their education. As can be predicted a majority of the paraprofessionals responded that they had received their elementary, secondary and undergraduate education through English. The teachers indicated an even higher percentage with 86 percent, 95 percent, and 82 percent having received their elementary, secondary and undergraduate education (respectively) through English.

Further verifying the findings discussed thus far 62 percent of the paraprofessionals and 73 percent of the teachers responding identified themselves as English dominant. The respondents were also asked to rate their ability in speaking, reading and writing each language on a scale from one to five with one being the lowest level of proficiency.

According to the mean score obtained for the paraprofessionals for each skill the participants identified reading (m=3.6) and writing (m=3.6) in Spanish and writing in English (m=3.9) as their weakest areas. The teachers also consistently rated their skills in Spanish considerably lower than those in English. The responses in the questionnaire indicate that activities leading to upgrading language skills are extremely important for the bilingual staff in the two school districts. It was repeatedly identified as an area of weakness for both groups.

MEAN SCORES

SELF-RATING OF ENGLISH AND SPANISH PROFICIENCY

	SPANISH			ENGLISH		
	Reading	Writing	Speaking	Reading	Writing	Speaking
Totals	88	81	83	110	106	106
Mean	3.82	3.52	3.60	4.78	4.60	4.65

The information obtained from the sample survey questionnaire has been extremely helpful in formulating the structure, goals and objectives of the inservice program for the two school districts. In summary, the questionnaire revealed that a majority of the staff is young, English dominant, with high educational and professional aspirations. The information strongly supports the establishment of a college or university degree program with a strong emphasis on the Spanish language skills, Puerto Rican culture and a focus on the development of teaching competencies through Spanish.

It also revealed the need for further investigation. For example, in the next phase of the assessment stage, English and Spanish language instruments will be administered in order to obtain more specific information on individual needs in each locality. A plan to assess teaching skills in each language area must be developed. Techniques for measuring teaching competencies in a systematic manner still need to be identified.

Phase III - Program Planning

The third phase being proposed is the establishment of the methods and strategies to be used for the type of teacher preparation program developed which should be based on the needs assessed, the objectives identified and the identified strengths and weaknesses of the staff selected. Several factors must be considered before significant plans can be formulated.

One important consideration is the amount of financial support available for the program since many school districts today are unable to finance tuition for their instructional staff. Although some federal funds are available for these activities, the smaller school districts sometimes have difficulty in qualifying for these funding sources due to the small number of student and staff needing these services. Colleges and universities also suffering from the critical economic situation are also financially unable to support the effort. However, several school districts needing similar services could form alliances, pool their resources, and request funds and services based on their collective needs. In the event that this is possible, agreements might be made between the district, the university and the personnel affected so that the three parties contribute toward the goal.

Every effort should be made, however, to provide the trainees with some significant incentive for participating in the staff development effort. If the persons are not ready to receive training and are not motivated to participate actively in it the plans made will become an exercise in futility making the stated goals virtually impossible to accomplish.

Teacher unions have become extremely powerful in some areas of the country and their presence and agreements cannot be ignored. Violation of these contracts must be avoided since it can lead to complete ineffectiveness of any plan developed. For example, in one school district in New York it was difficult to convince the school district to permit the teachers to receive college credit for their staff training because they are entitled to receive an increase in salary for each college course completed.

Decisions based on the factors just discussed help to establish parameters leading toward the development of the program's structural and operational framework. The district is now ready to formulate long range and short range planning. Do the assessed needs warrant the establishment of an inservice or preservice program? Are both types needed? For the purpose of this presentation, inservice programs are defined as training given to bilingual personnel who are in the process of providing instruction to bilingual students. Preservice training is defined as training given to persons not yet involved in teaching. This can mean graduate or undergraduate students preparing to become bilingual teachers. In many instances both types of programs need to be instituted and planned.

Will the program be college based; will it be conducted by the school district or will it be a cooperative effort of the two institutions? The advantages and disadvantages as they affect students, staff, district and the college involved must be considered.

I strongly believe that a partnership between the two agencies must be formed. Unfortunately, bilingual programs in institutions of higher education are still in their infancy. Colleges and universities must still depend on the expertise in the field. Most colleges cannot afford at this time to hire all of the staff needed in specialized areas in bilingual education to do the kind of work needed. As a matter of fact, many colleges in New York depend on the services of LEA bilingual personnel to conduct many of their methods courses in bilingual education.

In any case, a bilingual staff development program cannot be conducted exclusively in a university setting. Although there are some courses which should be taken on campus (primarily because some students feel that their program is legitimized through this) no bilingual education program can be complete if students do not spend a significant percentage of their time in the field.

If it is to be inservice in nature, without college credit attached, what are other incentives which can be offered? Perhaps training activities can be scheduled during the day. If this cannot be arranged and the instructional personnel must attend training activities after school hours, short workshops might be offered so that the personnel can select those which are of interest without feeling that they must make long-term commitments.

Most of our bilingual teachers are serious professionals committed to the concept of bilingual education and used to making personal sacrifices in the interest of creating better educational opportunities for our youngsters. We have a long way to go before we can make claim to having flooded the market with "super teachers," but the impact that our bilingual teachers have created and will continue to create has had very positive and significant affects on the total teaching personnel. Let us continue our efforts. Some day, perhaps, "super teachers" will be the norm.

PANEL IV: Excerpts from Discussants' Remarks

MR. RODRIGUEZ: Bob (Cervantes) was saying that we need to do a great deal more research (before we can understand what constitutes culturally responsive teaching). But I think that (we, as practitioners) must take certain liberties. We have to make assumptions, even though they may turn out wrong, about what culture is and what good teaching is.

MS. GALLO: (The first step in culturally responsive teaching) is to make sure the teacher can teach the Spanish reading readiness and the Spanish reading before we get into that gray area of affective skills...

If the community wants a maintenance program, let's give them a maintenance program. If they want a transitional or ESL program, give them what they want... In larger districts all of these alternatives can be provided. For example, in Los Angeles or Houston a maintenance program can be a reality. But in some communities its just not going to cut it...

One important method of trying to train teachers in affective skills is videotaping techniques. (Videotaping is very useful as a means of recording and identifying) desirable behaviors in bilingual classrooms.

PANEL IV: Synopsis of Floor Discussion

In order for a community to be able to determine what it wants for its children, it needs to be educated concerning the program options available to it.

Bilingual/bicultural programs should not be held accountable in terms of standardized achievement measures unless the alternative (i.e., traditional approaches) are judged by the same criteria.

There needs to be closer cooperation between the research community and the practitioners. Research must be relevant to practitioner needs. One reason why the area of culturally responsive teaching has been so under-researched is that there has been only negligible funding available thus far for research in the field.

PANEL V: Introductory Statement

Panel V addressed topic "7" (see page 4). The Principal Investigators were Dr. John B. Lum and Ms. María E. Torres. Dr. Lum was unable to attend the conference, but his paper was read by Dr. Yee. Dr. Lum's paper was entitled "U.S. Office for Civil Rights (DHEW) Lau Remedies: Administrative Feedback." Ms. Torres' paper was entitled "The Five-Way Input Requisites for Educational Programs, Bilingual and Others." Serving as Discussants were Dr. Blandina Cardenas, Director of the Lau General Assistance Center -- San Antonio, and Mr. Manuel Andrade, Assistant Executive Director of Elementary Education, Denver Public Schools. The panel was presided over by Ms. Victoria Bergin, member of the Lau Project Advisory Board. Dr. Lum's and Ms. Torres' papers are reproduced on the following pages.

U.S. OFFICE OF CIVIL RIGHTS (DHEW) LAU REMEDIES: ADMINISTRATIVE FEEDBACK

John B. Lum

San Francisco

INTRODUCTION/BACKGROUND

The purpose of this paper is to identify administrative problems associated with the implementing of guidelines mentioned by the U.S. Office of Civil Rights in its report entitled "Findings Specifying Remedies Available for Eliminating Past Educational Practices Ruled Unlawful Under Lau v. Nichols" (hereafter referred to as "OCR Remedies"). Although some effort will also be spent toward mentioning possible solutions, María Torres' paper will explore this area more thoroughly.

To aid me in the above task, I sent a questionnaire to all the federal and state Lau Centers in the U.S. (see Attachment A). Two Lau Centers -- San Diego and Albuquerque -- sent replies, the findings, of which, will be incorporated into this paper.

Much of the format of this paper will be dictated by the format of the OCR Remedies, i.e., comments will be dictated by the order they appear in the OCR Remedies. The OCR Remedies, in brief, come in nine sections, which are as follows:

I. Identification of Student's Primary Home Language
II. Diagnostic/Prescriptive Approach
III. Educational Program Selection
IV. Required and Elective Courses
V. Instructional Personnel Requirements
VI. Racial/Ethnic Isolation . . .
VII. Notification to Parents . . .
VIII. Evaluation
IX. Definition of Terms

I think it is important to point out that the comments written in this paper do not necessarily reflect my views. They are mentioned only because they are the issues raised by those in the field. Many of these views, it might be remembered, seem harsh because they reflect the reaction caused by the OCR "April 8th" memo and by the news articles engendered by that memo (Attachments B, C, D).

Even the April 22nd memo draft (Attachment E) by the California Department of Education and the San Diego Lau Center (Dobb-Ochoa) have been deemed not acceptable by some. This draft states that if local school districts do not follow the OCR Remedies, then they must come up with plans that are "at a minimum" equally effective as the OCR Remedies. LEAs don't take this April 22nd memo draft seriously because they now feel that the OCR Remedies are more than minimal remedies. Therefore they feel that they do not have to come up with plans equal to the OCR Remedies.

It might also be important to know that some of the issues raised have to do with interpretation more than implementation. For example, some persons may read a part of the OCR Remedies to mean one thing and someone else would read it to mean something else. Interpretation problems have been put together with implementation problems in this paper because implementation of anything is based on interpretations.

With the above caveats mentioned, attention can now be turned toward the major purpose of this paper.

IMPLEMENTATION/INTERPRETATION PROBLEMS

Section I has caused innumerable problems, both as to interpretation and as to implementation. The first paragraph equates "primary" and "home" languages as being the same. It has been pointed out that these two words could very well be mutually exclusive, i.e., for example, one could have a home language of Chinese and yet his/her primary language could be English.

If so, we have a situation where a person is already bilingual; and, if he/she is bilingual, then he/she does not come under the Lau categories of non or limited-English speaking.

Furthermore, the OCR Definitions of primary and home language -- (A) the student's first acquired language is other than English, and (C) the language most often spoken in the student's home is other than English, regardless of the language spoken by the student -- further exacerbates misunderstandings. What if a child is English speaking now even though his/her first acquired language is other than English? What if a child is English speaking even though the language he/she speaks at home is other than English? Do we count these children as coming under the jurisdiction of the Lau Decision? If so, we might be in for a losing, legal battle.

Next, while most anyone can see the wisdom of having the home or primary language of a child determined and assessed by persons who are bilingual in English and the languages in question, one can also object that it does not take a bilingual person to figure out that Johnny or Mary are non or limited English speaking.

If no one objects to this requirement, however, it should be pointed out that language dominance assessments will, administratively, require extra resources of personnel, time, and money.

The next requirement, assessing the degree of linguistic abilities of students, surprisingly, has brought no arguments. In fact, most persons felt that it was pedagogically sound. It was pointed out, however, that the five categories of students mentioned here -- monolingual speaker of another language other than English, etc. -- are not mutually exclusive of the categories mentioned under the primary and home languages. That is, a student can, as mentioned before, have a primary language of, say, Cantonese, and yet predominantly speak English.

Among other ways of assessing a student's language, it was mentioned in the OCR Remedies that observation of students communicating with their peers was one means. One person stated, though, that the language a student uses with his peers is often a function of whom he/she associates with. If a predominantly Spanish speaking person associates mostly with English speaking peers and speaks only English, albeit poorly, then what? Cross validation, of course, would solve most of the problems mentioned in cases like this.

Speaking of cross validation, there is the administrative problem not only of resources but also of time. How can a district get all these assessments done at the beginning of a school year and still program classes accordingly? Would not much reshuffling come about? The suggestion of assessing children at the end of the school year for the following year's placement was not met too enthusiastically because summer months could make end-of-the-year assessments obsolete when the new school year comes around.

To the requirement that additional cross validation methods be used when a child is found to operate in two languages, objections were raised that such children were already bilingual and therefore did not fall under Lau regulations.

To sum Section I of the OCR Remedies, many persons felt that the most the Lau Decision really requires is that language dominance assessment should be the only requirement, and that the OCR categories of home and primary languages are over and above the scope of the Lau Decision.

Section II starts off by saying that the most effective teaching style must be prescribed after a diagnosis is made. One lawyer pointed out to me that while the prescription makes pedagogical sense, no one can legally mandate the so-called most effective teaching style. The law may prevent something harmful from being taught, but it may not prescribe what it thinks may be the best.

Section II's next requirement is an assessment of students' responsiveness to different learning styles. While there were no legal points of interpretation raised here, an administrative issue was raised. LEAs feel that even Lau Center personnel really know little about learning styles even though they talk about it all the time. The only terms one ever hears of are "competitive vs. cooperative" learning styles. However, these are terms that hardly ever fit any ethnic group consistently. In other words, even though some ethnic groups might learn well through cooperative methods, when and under what conditions do they use cooperation? Do they compete? How? When? Furthermore, even if their learning styles were completely cooperative, how does one train them for the competitive realities of the world? Still further, what other teaching styles are there besides competitive vs. cooperative? Can Lau Center personnel really offer help in this area? Do ethnic experts themselves agree what are the best teaching styles for their own ethnic groups?

The above requirement, then, needs clarification and/or expansion so that LEAs will have something to go on. They do not disagree with it; they just can't get a good handle on it.

The next requirement, that linguistically/culturally different children be brought up to the level LEAs expect of non-minority children, makes all the sense in the world. Believe it or not, though, I have heard Machiavellian words flow around that would twist this requirement around to hurt these different children. That is, this requirement could be extended to mean that linguistically/culturally different children could be flunked for not performing as well as non-minority children, since it is required that they perform at the levels expected of non-minority children If there is such stretching of this requirement's meaning, it should be pointed out that the prescriptive measures must serve to bring about an acceptable level of performance, and that this level of performance not be divorced from educational objectives set for non-minority students.

Administratively, this requirement strongly indicates that bilingual services and resources must be implemented, since, in order to keep up in the content areas, one must be taught in a language he/she understands.

Section III, Educational Program Selection, has caused a lot of negative reaction, as witnessed by Attachments B, C, and D. Upon close examination, for non-English speakers (as distinct from limited-English speakers), one can see that the three acceptable programs for remedial action under the Lau Decision -- transitional bilingual education, bilingual/bicultural program, and multilingual/multicultural program -- really are no different from each other save for the amount of time, effort, or content spent on these programs. Additionally, given the April 8th OCR memo, I don't see how this section can be enforced as written. I would strongly suggest that additional acceptable alternatives be listed besides these three. Bilingual support can be made an integral part of these additional alternatives. If OCR does not come up with more alternatives, then the LEAs will not have much to guide them by.

The next requirement, which is really a requirement in reverse, is that ESL is not appropriate at the elementary level since it does not consider the cognitive or affective development of elementary children. This section has caused such a howl that a whole book has been written in reaction to it (English as a Second Language in Bilingual Education, eds. James Alatis and Kristie Twaddell, 1976). First of all, I doubt that most anyone can say that ESL has no cognitive benefit for elementary children. It may not be as effective as bilingual education, but to say that it has no cognitive benefit at all might be going overboard. This statement should be deleted since it needlessly causes hard feelings. Our purpose can be served just as well by saying that ESL alone would not be deemed sufficient.

At the secondary level, option #2 -- subject matters in the native language(s) and learning English as a first language in a natural setting -- is not clear at all as to how a non or limited English speaker is to learn English. It was even mentioned that this option seems to show that one is not even serious to learn English if he/she chooses this option.

Although not counted as an option, the suggestion that options open for elementary students could also be options for secondary students, is really option #4 for secondary students and should be so listed. However, the additional requirements that options adopted here cannot be used if secondary students lack prerequisite skills in their own native languages until compensatory skills in the native language is first given, effectively scuttles this option from serious consideration. No one, on any large-scale basis, is going to implement a bilingual program if, before he/she can implement that program, he/she must first implement a compensatory program in some other language. Furthermore, the research that this additional requirement is based upon -- that literacy in one's first language more easily leads to literacy in a second language -- is not that strong, especially for languages going from one type of script to another (e.g., Chinese into English).

The next statement, that secondary students cannot be in programs that would delay their receiving English language skills required of other students at graduation time, may, administratively, militate against bilingual education in that some studies show that bilingual education often takes one longer to learn English (albeit, more thoroughly).

In discussing limited English speakers (as distinct from non-English speakers), mention is made about those elementary school children who have and have not been in a school system for more than a year. This entire discussion of less than one year/more than one year only obfuscates the point being made. The point being made has to do with underachievement. It would be simpler said and more easily understood if it were just stated that limited-English speakers who are underachieving must receive remedial plans from his/her district.

Also, for these limited-English speakers, the option of giving bilingual education/compensatory education in one's first language is again given. For the same reasons mentioned with non-English speakers, hardly any school district under court order is ever going to pick this option. This being so, the option is somewhat self-defeating.

The remainder of Section III deals with those who are of the other three catogories -- those who are already bilingual; those who speak English more than any other language; and those who speak only English. OCR Remedies require treatment for these three catogories of students if they are underachieving. It has been pointed out to me that these requirements may hold no water because the Lau Decision deals only with non and limited-English speakers, not those who already can function in English.

Needless to say, Section III needs a coming together of minds.

Section IV states that elective courses and co-curricular activities must not be racially/ethnically identifiable unless educationally justifiable. What's racially/ethnically identifiable? Aren't all bilingual classes racially/ethnically identifiable even if they have some dominant English speakers in them? What is educationally justifiable? The OCR Remedies, then, need to clarify this requirement.

Section IV next requires that counseling ensures that minorities enroll in electives where they traditionally have not enrolled. Administratively, accountability procedures must be set up for this requirement. The research department of a district could be involved as well as the counseling department. A checklist showing who is taking what may be all that is required to be in compliance with this requirement.

Section V, Instructional Personnel Requirements, would probably require much coordination with whoever handles personnel functions. There is also the strong possibility that parents and other community persons would also have a role in the selection and training of staff members.

Specific problems under Section V can perhaps be best summarized by referring to Lau GAC's Area F's (Albuquerque) letter:

> A substantial number have stated that they anticipate difficulties in staffing their programs with qualified staff in the immediate future for these reasons:
>
> a) they have tenured monolingual teachers
>
> b) they generally do not experience a large staff turn-over
>
> c) those that do experience a large staff turn-over, lose qualified personnel or personnel they have trained and have to start all over each year
>
> d) geographical isolation and low salaries make it difficult to attract qualified personnel
>
> e) personnel with the skills to work with Navajo and other Indian languages are very much in demand and very scarce
>
> However, most school districts who have voiced these concerns have expressed more optimism because of the temporary alternatives which do provide more time in which to eventually secure or train qualified teachers

That having been said, no other points have been raised about this section.

Section VI, Racial/Ethnic Isolation, has not raised any administrative problems at this time. Guidelines from such programs as Title VII bilingual programs seem to have precluded any questions being raised under this section.

Section VII, Notification to Parents of Students Whose Primary or Home Language is Other Than English, needs only two comments. The first is that, more likely, additional resources would be needed to have notices translated. Translating services, of course, would not necessarily be done only by certified persons.

The second is that the requirement that *all* aspects of the programs designed for the non and limited-English speaking children must be reported to their parents. This *all* should somehow be delimited to common sense. After all, it was pointed out, no one reports everything for any program. Does a music department notify parents about all aspects of its music programs? The point here, then, is that some workable guideline be set up for this requirement in place of the unworkable word "all."

Section VIII raised only one issue, what to do for the "sixty days after school starts progress report" if needed data are not yet in. The suggestion passed out so far has been to report on what data there are that are available at the time of the sixty days being passed.

The last section, Section IX, Definition of Terms, has so far encountered no questions, issues, or problems.

CONCLUSIONS

In working with, at times, hard nose people, I have come to some strong tentative conclusions about the OCR Remedies.

There is little doubt that some sections, particularly Section III, needlessly rankle many LEAs. If this is the intent of the OCR Remedies, O.K. But if it is not, it would then merit some judicious and diplomatic rewriting and restructuring. Administration of the OCR Remedies would then more easily come about.

Secondly, the OCR Task Force that drew up the Remedies might seriously think about cutting down Sections I and III to deal only with those whom the Lau Decision are related to -- non and limited-English speakers only. For the OCR to demand bilingual education for those who can already function in English, even if they are underachieving, will probably do the cause of bilingual education little good in the long run. To do so only lessens OCR's and the Lau Centers' credibility. Besides, the Lau Centers will almost certainly push for bilingual education for underachieving English speaking culturally different children, anyway. To demand this, however, is batting LEAs on the head and making the OCR Remedies more difficult to administer. The same ends as originally intended can be better achieved by diplomacy.

Third, in helping LEAs to comply with the OCR Remedies, all the Lau Centers ought to come up with a standardized checklist that the LEAs can use. This checklist would be an aid and could serve to enhance Lau Centers as positive forces for sound education.

Fourth, although already mentioned in this paper, it ought to be emphasized that the OCR Remedies expand its section on curricular options (as bilingual as possible, of course) so that the document reads, again, as something positive.

Lastly, all of the interpretation questions raised throughout this paper should be answered and clarified.

One might consider the Summer 1975 OCR Remedies as a document that needed field testing. To insist that it is a perfect document is to delude ourselves. The time for it to be more perfectly developed is now. Effort at self-improvement is a positive movement.

SAN FRANCISCO UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT

135 VAN NESS AVENUE
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94102
Telephone: (415) [illegible] 565-9210

May 3, 1976

ATTACHMENT A

Dear

I am conducting a study of administrative problems related to the implementing of the Office of the Civil Right's "Task Force Findings Specifying Remedies Available for Eliminating Past Educational Practices Ruled Unlawful Under Lau v. Nichols."

I would appreciate it if you or a knowledgeable member of your staff would answer the few questions outlined below.

Basically, the following need to be answered:

1. Have any LEAs had any difficulty in understanding any particular section of the Remedies? If so, which sections (for example, Sec. II, I, a)? How many times have these problems come up?
2. Have any LEAs indicated that certain sections of the Remedies are too difficult to implement? Which sections? Any sections given?

Please note that in answering these questions, I need to know what the LEA's feel, not you. Do not answer from your feelings unless you make it clear that it is your feelings, not the LEAs, that you are expressing.

I would appreciate it if you can have replies sent back to me by May 20, 1976. Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

John B. Lum

John Lum, Ph. D.
Lau Bilingual Proj. Head
Rm. 217

ATTACHMENT B

Monday, April 19, 1976 The Austin American-Statesman Austin, Texas—Page A9

Bilingual ed not required

HEW memo to clear up 'misunderstanding'

Washington Post

WASHINGTON — The Health, Education and Welfare Department, seeking to clear up a growing U.S. education issue, has quietly affirmed that it is not mandatory for school districts to provide bilingual educations to children whose primary language is not English.

The position, expressed in an internal memo by HEW's Office for Civil Rights, affects 333 school systems with an estimated 1.1 million students who speak little or no English.

The memo, sent April 8 to regional HEW officials, is intended to "clarify" the "misunderstandings" by some of the government's own rights and enforcers about a sensitive policy paper issued last summer on the Hispanic-American, American Indian, Asian-American and other affected children.

Many school officials have shared these "misunderstandings" — particularly the belief that Washington was requiring them to teach these students history, math or other subjects for at least several years in their mother tongues rather than let the schools stress special English instruction.

The confusion has grown out of last summer's little-noticed HEW document known as the "Lau remedies," after a 1974 Supreme Court ruling (Lau v. Nichols) involving Chinese-speaking students in San Francisco. The students sought special education programs to combat language deficiencies.

The Supreme Court did not require San Francisco or any other school district to start bilingual programs for limited-English-speaking children so they might receive an equal education opportunity. No specific remedy was sought by the students and so far the city has not started special programs.

Rather, in a majority decision written by now-retired Justice William O. Douglas, the court said, "Teaching English to the students of Chinese ancestry is one choice. Giving instruction to this group in Chinese is another. There may be others."

But HEW's document, written by a task force composed chiefly of bilingualism advocates, used emphatic language which made it appear that bilingual programs were indeed being mandated.

ATTACHMENT C

The INDEPENDENT
BERKELEY GAZETTE

Editorial Page

Published Daily Except Sunday by Brown Newspaper Publishing Co., Inc.
WARREN BROWN, JR., President and Publisher
W. A. "CHIP" BROWN, Asst. Publisher
BILL BROWN, Asst. Publisher
TERRY D. SELLARDS, Executive Editor

Andrew Tully

Bilingual instruction got out of hand

WASHINGTON — Two years ago the Supreme Court handed down a decision in a San Francisco case (Lau vs. Nichols) which involved a Chinese-speaking student who was joined by some of his colleagues in seeking special education programs to remedy language deficiencies.

In a majority ruling written by the liberal Justice William O. Douglas, now retired, the Court said — simply — "Teaching English to the students of Chinese ancestry is one choice. Giving instruction to this group in Chinese is another. There may be others."

In short, the Court did NOT require San Francisco or any other school district to launch bilingual programs for children whose knowledge of the English language was limited.

But that sort of a decision is meat and drink for the social architects in the federal bureaucracy. Last summer, a Health, Education, and Welfare "task force" composed mostly of advocates of bilingualism in the public schools, issued a sweeping ukase whose language made it appear that the Court had mandated bilingual programs. The pronouncement said that school districts found to be neglecting the language deficiencies of elementary school children "must implement" the task force's remedies — all of which stressed bilingual education.

Some remedies. They gave the schools the choice of a "transitional period" aimed at having students learn in English after several years, or a "multilingual multicultural" program designed to produce students who could "function totally in more than two languages and cultures."

The result was predictable. Numerous HEW "enforcers" told local school districts that they had to have bilingual programs. Seattle, for example, was informed by a regional director that it was "required" to start a bilingual program for 1,212 children of Filipino, Chinese, German, Spanish, Korean and other ancestry.

Well, you know about bureaucracies. When they're wrong, they try to admit it privately. Somebody read Justice Douglas' opinion a second, or a 22nd, time and got the point. So an internal memo was issued by HEW's Office for Civil Rights on April 8. It said it was not mandatory for school districts to provide bilingual education for an estimated 1.1 million children who speak little or no English.

According to an HEW spokesman, the memo was intended to "clarify" the "misunderstanding" by some of the government's own civil rights zealots about the task force's decree.

There was, of course, no possibility of "misunderstanding" what the task force commanded. Anybody who could read naturally had to assume that HEW indeed was requiring school districts to teach foreign language-speaking children history, math and other subjects in their mother tongue for several years rather than permitting the schools to stress special English instruction.

Obviously, the bilingual zealots on the task force thought they could get away with a fast one. This is a common form of arrogance among "activist" liberals who are convinced they know best, and never mind what the law says. Caught in the act by protests from numerous school districts, they had to back down.

So now HEW has informed the people, whose tax monies fund the cost of maintaining public schools, that it was all a mistake and that the so-called "Lau remedies" were intended as "guidelines only" and that they are "not exclusive."

That settles that one — until, of course, HEW's liberal fanatics accidentally make another mistake, on purpose.

EDUCATION DAILY
The American educator's independent, daily news service.

ATTACH-
MENT D

Vol. 9, No. 77 April 20, 1975

BELL RESIGNS AS EDUCATION COMMISSIONER U.S. Education Commissioner Terrel Bell resigned yesterday to become head of the Utah higher education system. Bell, who came to the Office of Education in June, 1974, will earn $48,600 in his new job, compared with $37,800 at OE. In announcing his move, Bell noted he will "have three kids in college" next year. President Ford has accepted Bell's resignation but no successor has been announced.

OCR SAYS BILINGUAL GUIDELINES "MISUNDERSTOOD" In trouble over the second of three sets of "guidelines" it sent to school districts last summer, the Office for Civil Rights has told its regional directors and education branch chiefs not to force OCR bilingual education "remedies" on school districts. In a terse note, OCR Elementary an Secondary Division director Lloyd Henderson says there has been some "misunderstandi concerning the guidelines and asks regional directors to clear the matter up with their staffs.

Currently, Seattle, Washington, school officials are threatening to sue because HEW is withholding any new funds from the district on the grounds of alleged violations of last summer's guidelines. Earlier this year, OCR revised and modified detailed rules on discipline sent to all school districts at about the same time the bilingual advisory went out.

Lau Districts Affected Following the 1974 Lau v. Nichols decision, which held th school districts can't use practices that "foreclose" meaningful education for non-Englis speaking youngsters, OCR came up with a list of 333 school districts it said should "examine" themselves for compliance with Lau. The Supreme Court didn't say, and OCR now insists its guidelines don't say either, that compliance has to take the form of bilingual education, long a strong objective of minority groups such as Spanish-surnamed Americans.

What OCR did say, Henderson points out, is that bilingual education is one way of meeti the Lau requirement, but so is "immersion" in English instruction, or any other technique a school district can "substantiate." "The Lau Remedies are guidelines only to be used by OCR investigators in order to determine the acceptability of a district's plan which is submitted pursuant to receipt of a letter of noncompliance. Moreover, the Lau Remedies are not exclusive; however, when a district varies from the suggested OCR Remedies, a burden is placed upon that district to show that the Remedies submitted in the plan will be effective to cure the violations."

Published by the Education News Services Division of Capitol Publications, Inc.
Suite G-12, 2130 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037 Telephone (202) 452-1600
Publisher: [illegible]
Executive Editor: Emily C. Harris
EDITOR: EMILY C. HARRIS; CIRCULATION MANAGER: [illegible]
Editorial Staff: [illegible]

Annual Subscription Rate, $[illegible]; Six Month Subscription Rate: $[illegible]
Multiple copy rate available on request. Back issues are available on microform

Reproduction in whole or in part in any form forbidden unless written permission has been granted by the publisher in each instance.

Draft -

ATTACHMENT E

FROM THE OFFICES OF:

Alberto Ochoa, Director
LAU General Assistance Center
Institute for Cultural Pluralism
San Diego State University
(714) 286-5193

Fred Dobb, LAU Consultant
Office of Bilingual Bicultural Education
California State Department of Education
(916) 445-2872

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

April 22, 1976

In response to a number of issues raised by recent articles in the Washington Post, the San Diego Evening Tribune, and other newspapers concerning the document "Task Force Findings Specifying Remedies Available for Eliminating Past Educational Practices Ruled Unlawful Under LAU v. NICHOLS", Alberto Ochoa, Director, LAU General Assistance Center at San Diego State University and Fred Dobb, LAU Consultant, California State Department of Education have issued the following points of clarification.

1. The Office of Civil Rights, Department of Health, Education and Welfare Memorandum dated April 8 contains no new information. According to the memo, "The Lau Remedies are guidelines only to be used by Office of Civil Rights investigators in order to determine the acceptability of a district's plan which is submitted pursuant to receipt of a letter of non-compliance" with Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and HEW regulations pursuant to the Title. All of the letters of non-compliance which thirty California school districts have already received contain copies of the Lau Remedies and the caution that:

ingle
paced
nted
entred

> Voluntary compliance plans which set forth educational strategies consistent with the approaches outlined in the enclosed document and which contain the other elements specified therein, will be accepted by this office. School districts submitting voluntary compliance plans to this office which are not consistent with the outlined

approaches or with other required plan elements must demonstrate affirmatively, at the time of submission, that such plans, at a minimum, will be equally effective in ensuring equal educational opportunity. Such plans must also include a Prescriptive/Diagnostic approach and an Evaluation Component as suggested by the Task Force Findings.

2. Although the Lau Remedies do not mandate bilingual classes for all students whose primary language is other than English, they do call upon non-compliance school districts to assess the needs of all district students from other language backgrounds and to provide comprehensive instructional programs to meet those needs. In certain cases depending on student language dominance, grade level, and academic achievement, a bilingual program is the suggested remedy, and the only educationally sound way of insuring effective participation in the instructional program.

A bilingual program includes instruction in subject matter in the language the student understands best and oral English language development as is appropriate to the language proficiency, age, ability, and experience of the student.

3. In their presentation and interpretation of the Lau Remedies to California school districts, the LAU Centers have ~~been consistent~~ adhered to ~~with the above~~ the above points. For districts which have not been found to be in non-compliance, the Remedies provide ~~but one~~ one set of criteria by which to evaluate ~~their~~ current district services to ~~children~~ students from other language backgrounds.

THE FIVE-WAY INPUT REQUISITE FOR EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS BILINGUAL AND OTHERS

María E. Torres

Southmost College

It is the purpose of this presenter to emphasize the need to communicate with and involve all parties concerned in the implementation of any educational program. The era of the school superintendent being the sole initiator of all instructional programs is a thing of the past. In its place, the five-way input requisite for the implementation of any instructional program, bilingual or otherwise, now exists and involves: community/board; administrators; faculty; students; and parents.

Any of these groups can become the initiator but it takes all five to successfully carry out the change. It would certainly be unwise to begin before agreement has been reached by all parties concerned. A token effort will result in the educational experiment falling victim to community pressure, teacher resistance, student apathy, or administrator exhaustion.

In exploring some of the concerns that could be expressed by administrators contemplating bilingual education and especially the Lau Remedies proposed by the OCR Task Force, one can readily see the implications of these issues as related to the parties involved. Some of these concerns could be as follows:

1. Concerns on the Identification of the Student's Primary or Home Language
    a. How is the degree of linguistic function or ability of the students determined?
    b. How long will this assessment take?
2. Concerns on Describing Diagnostic Prescriptive Measures
    a. Who will determine teaching styles to be used?
    b. How is the linguistic/culturally different student brought to the educational performance level that is required by the LEA and SEA?
3. Concerns on Educational Program Selection
    a. Is bilingual education the alternative needed in this school district?

b. How is bilingual education different from other programs that exist in our school system?

c. What type of bilingual program do we want?

d. How culturally responsive does our program have to be?

4. Concerns on Required and Elective Courses

a. How will local and state standards of accreditation be maintained?

b. Should the day be longer for the linguistic/culturally different student?

5. Concerns on Instructional Personnel Requirements

a. Who will teach bilingually?

b. Where can I get technical assistance?

c. What other specialists and consultants will be needed?

6. Concerns on Racial/Ethnic Isolation

a. How is desired ratio maintained?

b. How do we meet the needs of all other students and still maintain desired racial/ethnic ratio?

7. Concerns on Community Outreach

a. What activities can be carried to disseminate information to the community?

b. How can we involve the community, particularly parents?

8. Concerns on Evaluation

a. How extensive should the evaluation design be?

b. Who will develop the evaluation design?

c. How will progress be measured?

9. Other concerns

a. We are already overcrowded, where do we hold the bilingual classes?

b. Will we have to develop our own curriculum?

c. Where do we obtain materials and other instructional aids?

d. How much will all this cost?

As a practitioner of bilingual education, the presenter will discuss possible solutions to the aforementioned concerns. Administrators will find little differences between concerns for bilingual education and concerns for other innovative educational programs. Tactics in resolving the problems and in fulfilling the logistics of any educational program remain basically the same.

As possible solutions are discussed, one must remember that this practitioner advocates a five-way input requisite. Agreement must exist on all issues by all parties involved. Support, both morally and financially must exist before full implementation of bilingual education can take place.

Identification of the student's primary or home language is not easily accomplished without the cooperation of the student, his parents and even his peers. To accomplish a realistic assessment of the linguistic ability of students, all resources must be utilized. Staff with the assistance of a native speaker of the home language will probably have to develop assessment measures. Development of assessment measures and actual student evaluations could take as long as six months depending on staff linguistic proficiency and numbers of staff involved.

In describing diagnostic and prescriptive measures for linguistically different pupils, administrators will find that this will take considerable time, effort, and coordination. In developing this section of the plan to remedy past educational practices, adequate staffing is necessary. Student records need to be reviewed individually. Staff must develop a realistic time table to run concurrently with that of identification of linguistic proficiency. If adequate staffing does not exist, administrators must seek special assistance in this very important component.

A concern that arises in prescriptive measures is that of the linguistic/culturally different student attaining the educational performance level that is required by the LEA and the SEA. If diagnostic measures are valid, there should be almost no difficulty in designing prescriptive measures to attain performance levels set forth. It should be noted here that LEA and SEA administrators must review performance levels required and must assure that these performance levels are realistic. One might ask "Does this mean watering down the curriculum?" And the answer could be "No, but you can certainly watch the overflow".

In selecting the alternative to meet the needs of special populations, administrators need only look at local achievement testing data in order to understand that E.S.L. and English immersion programs are not recommended alternatives. Research on the failure of these practices to meet the needs of special populations is prolific. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights alone has published six reports known as the Mexican American Educational Series which presents the staggering data to justify change. One need only to attend a bilingual conference and listen to testimonial after testimonial on the need for alternatives. Because of the pedagogical soundness of bilingual education, many administrators have worked toward the implementation of bilingual education in their system. Some programs have flourished, others have failed. Failure, as the practitioner sees it, happens only when tokenism is the top priority in these programs.

While bilingual education is different in philosophy because of its great importance in the development of the self image of a child, it is no different from any other approach in its implementation. A good willing administrator possessing the right managerial skills will have no problems in formulating the strategy to implement all components of a bilingual program.

The type of program and the degree of cultural responsiveness that the program should have must again involve all parties. There must be some compromises. "One step at a time and that done well is the only sure way to succeed and excel." Many bilingual education programs under ESEA Title VII which initially were transitional became maintenance programs due to the Missouri philosophy of seeing is believing. Maintaining traditional standards and accreditation can sometimes overwhelm curriculum directors. Planning closely with principals, faculty, counselors and all other parties concerned can solve the problems of required courses and electives. A native speaker of the primary language should be represented at all planning sessions.

Duplication of effort should be eliminated in scheduling classes in middle or secondary schools. Block scheduling should be strongly considered. The day for participants in bilingual education should not be any longer than for any other student.

Staffing is a problem even when school districts have all bilingual personnel. So one can well imagine the problems faced with inadequate staff. A good staff development component is a must. School districts must begin with what is available and make plans for future addition of needed staff. Team teaching, cooperative teaching, etc., can all be utilized. The presenter has found that a good professional teacher, even if resisting, is more effective than a fair, willing one.

There must at least be an administrative staff of four persons: a director, a curriculum media specialist, an internal evaluator, and a community liaison. An educational auditor who will report to the school board would confirm the findings of the project. Existing ratios of student/teacher can still be maintained.

There are various methods used to maintain classroom racial/ethnic ratios prevalent in the community. One way is to evenly distribute pupils. This can be done by staff and/or faculty in the summer months. Community advisory board members can be present at the distribution. One will find that a fair equitable way of distribution draws little criticism.

Community Outreach Programs have been very successfully implemented. Some school districts use community members for instructional purposes, to help in evaluation, to speak to students, etc. The possibilities are unlimited. One word of caution: Community participants need as much orientation and staff development activities as the professional staff does.

The evaluation design should be as comprehensive as possible. Once the needs assessment in all components -- instructional, curriculum/materials acquisition, staff development, community involvement and program management -- has been carried out, realistic long range goals and short term objectives should be developed in the same five components. The evaluation design should also provide for on-going monitoring and educational auditing.

The development of the evaluation design is time consuming and in need of adequate staff for coordination purposes. Input from all parties concerned will facilitate the process and will produce an evaluation design that is in agreement with the concerned groups. Staff must provide the leadership.

Physical facilities will only be needed if younger children are involved, such as three or four year olds. Adequate scheduling should solve any facility problem.

Curriculum and materials for bilingual education projects have been in the developmental stages since 1963. Educators planning bilingual education especially in the lower elementary grades will find that some material is available. If not available, this practitioner can find no better way to utilize the talents of the professional staff and involve them in an exciting project.

Regarding cost, it has been estimated that bilingual education where small numbers of special populations live will cost about $1,500 a year per child above what is normally expended. Cost per child is less in school districts where special populations live in greater numbers. Administrators worrying about the budget only have to look back at the introduction of the modern mathematics approach, the implementation of SRA and other reading programs, special education, etc. They will confirm that innovative programs are expensive.

Knowing that innovative projects are expensive will by no means produce the revenue needed to carry out the project. Administrators must look at several sources: local, state and federal. There must be effort by all three. To depend entirely on federal funds will cause utter dependence on funding and chaos if not funded. Alternatives must be explored.

In conclusion, this practitioner would like to identify herself as a bilingual education advocate and to express her opinion that in order for bilingual education to succeed the right people will have to nourish it.

PANEL V: Excerpts from Discussants' Remarks

DR. CARDENAS: I have great difficulty in dealing with Dr. Lum's paper because he isn't here and I'm sure that if he were here he could add much to what he has to say. I have great difficulty differentiating between his positions and the positions of the information that was submitted to him. I also do not have an analysis of the sample of information that was submitted to him. I do not know, for example, whether he asked the question where is Lau being implemented well and how is that being done...

I agree with Dr. Lum that there is a lack of understanding of the Lau Remedies. I think more importantly, however, the comments that he has presented reflect a lack of openness to understand the Remedies... When someone doesn't want to do anything about a situation he will look for every conceivable way out...

Dr. Lum consistently states that a student who is now an... English speaker is not of concern to the Lau decision (even if he is) a poor English speaker. The Lau Remedies are concerned with children who may be of limited English-speaking ability because they have been part of an environment in which they have brought to school another language and hopefully by extension another culture. We know that in the state of Texas any student above third grade can probably pass an (English) proficiency test. Yet he may have suffered and may be continuing to suffer educational damage because of the fact that he did not speak the language when he came to school, and the educational response he encountered was inappropriate. So we are talking about protecting a class of children throughout their educational program. I think we would be making a big mistake if we focused only on the language the student speaks now...

I think the Lau Remedies are saying to school districts put yourself together, take the research and the knowledge that is available and come up with a strategy that makes sense given your present and projected resources...

I disagree that there is a demand for bilingual education for English-speaking or bilingual students when they are underachieving. The Lau Remedies specifically state that underachieving bilingual children may have one of three options that are prescribed for limited English-speaking students.

The function of the Lau Center is to provide technical assistance that will allow the school district to embark upon the problem solving, resource identification and implementation strategies that will bring it into compliance. I would not pretend to go into a school district with a checklist, with a preconceived set of recommendations.

MR. ANDRADE: It's delightful following these charming people because they said what I had intended to say.

PANEL V: Synopsis of Floor Discussion

Research suggests that ESL is unsuccessful as an only program component because language taught as a language is much less effective than language taught as a medium of instruction.

Bilingual Education programs should not cost significantly more than minimally good monolingual programs.

School districts do encounter frustration even when they are sincerely trying to implement the Lau Remedies.

PANEL VI: Introductory Statement

Panel VI addressed topic "1" (see page 4). The Principal Investigator was Dr. Edward de Avila. His paper was entitled "A Few Thoughts About Language Assessment: The Lau Decision Reconsidered." Serving as Discussants were Dr. Josué Gonzalez, Director of the Lau General Assistance Center -- Chicago (IL), and Dr. William Milan, Director of the Bilingual General Assistance Center, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York. The panel was presided over by Dr. Frank Trujillo, member of the Lau Project Advisory Board. Dr. de Avila's paper is reproduced on the following pages.

A FEW THOUGHTS ABOUT LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT: THE LAU DECISION RECONSIDERED

Edward A. DeAvila and Sharon E. Duncan

Oakland, California

The opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States in the class suit Lau vs. Nichols was delivered January 21, 1974, but its mandate with respect to providing non-English-speaking children in this country a "meaningful opportunity to participate in the public educational program" is not yet close to being met. In this paper we will review the outcome of the Lau decision and the subsequent and inevitable questions of language assessment which have been raised at both the national and district levels. We will then discuss 46 currently available language tests in terms of some commonly accepted notions about the structure of language and the general question of language acquisition in relation to development. Finally, we will consider that the problem identified by the Lau decision may be a much broader one which can only be solved through the simultaneous consideration of linguistic, developmental and socio-cultural factors.

The problem raised in the Lau action is a matter of language instruction -- specifically, the failure of a school system" ...to provide English language instruction to approximately 1,800 students... who do not speak English..." This failure violates section 601 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which bans discrimination based on race, color or national origin in programs receiving federal financial assistance.

Almost immediately after the Lau ruling, the Office of Civil Rights (OCR) required all districts receiving federal funds to conduct a "language survey" to identify those children whose home language was other than English. When OCR followed up the Lau decision with this survey and compiled a list of 333 school districts which were "out of compliance" with the Lau decision, and subsequently prepared a set of guidelines to be followed by these school districts, the issue of language became both a socio-political and legal issue for the entire country. At the very heart of this issue, lay the strong implication that school districts found to be out of compliance with the Lau decision would run the risk of forfeiting federal assistance for special programs. Insofar as this meant a possible loss of revenue school districts could ill afford to lose, district officials sought guidance from OCR.

The upshot of all this was that OCR, in an effort to assist school districts, prepared a set of recommendations which have come to be known as the Lau Remedies. The recommendations in the Lau Remedies are meant to help school districts from running afoul with the law. As such, questions pertaining to assessment, linguistic development, classroom placement, program design, and so on, which were normally under the purview of the educators, psychologists, linguists and other social scientists became the default responsibility of OCR officials. And, in the absence of "good hard empirical evidence" OCR officials were called upon to set up recommendations to provide ready-made and practical solutions to some of the knottiest intellectual problems which have for years beset practitioner and researcher alike.

Since the basic issue in the Lau decision was the fact that the approximately 1,800 children involved in the case did not speak English, the question of language assessment became a focal point in the Lau Remedies. In fact, it would seem that the issue of language assessment formed the very basis of the Lau Remedies since all else seems to follow from a determination of the linguistic make-up of the schools. In the following, we would like to examine the issue of language assessment. As will be seen, an examination of this issue reveals a far more complicated picture than originally understood. Unfortunately, this is a picture which is characterized by paradoxes, dilemmas and any number of unresolved social and political issues which are not as amenable to change as we might think. In fact, it may turn out as we believe that language per se is not the problem, but rather a unique combination of attitudes toward language, ethnicity, self and society.

As a means for helping districts determine whether or not they had a civil rights problem, OCR, in the absence of a research base, developed a five-level system for categorizing school children's language patterns:

> A. Monolingual speaker of the language other than English (speaks the language other than English exclusively).
>
> B. Predominantly speaks the language other than English (speaks mostly the language other than English, but speaks some English).
>
> C. Bilingual (speaks both the language other than English and English with equal ease).
>
> D. Predominantly speaks English (speaks mostly English, but scme of the language other than English).
>
> E. Monolingual speaker of English (speaks English exclusively).
>
> (Lau Remedies, 1975, p. 2)

With the possible exceptions of the two extreme levels (i.e., A and E) one is immediately struck by the loose manner in which these levels are defined and that as such, they bear no resemblance to the "operational definitions" found in the sciences which require that definitions be given in terms of concrete operations, such as scores on tests, numbers of items passed and so on. What this means, unfortunately, from the point of view of a researcher, is that there is no clear way of deciding how these categories apply to actual behavior, whether it be in the school or in any other linguistic context. One is also left wondering if the partitions provided in this system bear any resemblance to the qualitative/quantitative stages found in second language acquisition. In which case, it may be that what we are referring to as a language deficit is simply the natural expression of the different levels or stages of second language acquisition.

From the measurement point of view, as it will be seen, the five level system set up by the Lau Task Force lacked either theoretical or empirical basis and, in that sense, was totally dictated by the practical need for having some system which made sense and could serve as a general guideline. The major difficulty lies not so much in the fact that the system was arbitrary but that its relation to either theory or explicit measurement procedures was unstated. In this very real way, school districts were left to their own devices. As will be seen from the following analysis, school districts have been hard put to find much in the way of meaningful solutions. Conversely, not wanting to place itself in the position of advocacy, OCR has found it equally difficult to offer very concrete recommendations beyond those dealing with the legal aspects of the court's ruling.

It is fortunate that the Federal Government has, within the past year, funded a series of Lau Centers whose responsibility is to assist schools found to be "out of compliance." It will become the responsibility of the professionals working in these centers to provide the leadership in working through and clarifying some of the above-mentioned issues. Insofar as these centers are only now getting settled, the present discussion will not include their various approaches to the different aspects of the problem.

For a more detailed discussion on some of the directions being suggested by one center on the question of language assessment, the reader is encouraged to review Gonzales and Fernandez (1976). By the same token, the reader interested in a more detailed discussion of specific problems and recommendations with respect to the testing of children from Spanish-speaking homes is referred to DeAvila and Havassy (1974), as the present discussion will be limited to a more general coverage of the issues as they pertain to language assessment and the Lau Remedies.

The fundamental issue underlying the Lau decision lies in the fact that there are significant numbers of children who are being denied an equal educational opportunity by virtue of the fact that they may or may not have the English language skills necessary for full participation in the current educational system. It is, therefore, the responsibility of the educational leadership to find ways to assist these children so they can more readily participate. As matters currently stand in the United States, they are not going to participate if they are not proficient in English.

On the surface, the problem would seem simple enough. If what is needed is simply providing English language skills, as many seem to believe, then the solution is simply in deciding which children are in need and assigning them to special remedial classes. However, the problem is far more complex.

Let us begin by considering the problem of testing and by asking a number of questions, independent of Lau, about testing: Are there available instruments? Are these instruments compatible with the backgrounds of the children? Were they conceived according to the phonemic/lexical/syntactic patterns of the language they are assessing or are they simply translations of an English test? Do they provide the kind of information that will assist the learner or do they simply fulfill legal requirements. Do they provide results which are consistent across different linguistic contexts (i.e., does the child speak the same way in all situations)? Do they stand up psychometrically? Do they test all of the various aspects of language? Does the procedure for scoring and interpreting the test consider the possible influence of developmental factors on language acquisition? Do they provide comparable results across tests? Do they provide results which simultaneously meet legal and educational requirements? Lastly, are there specific programs matched for each of the five language levels, and if so, do these programs carry equal status with other programs, or are they simply the old programs redesigned for the "culturally disadvantaged" in a new form? Let us consider some of these questions. As will be seen, we have no specific set of answers. We do, however, have a great many questions.

From the point of view of Lau the only defensible reason for testing is to determine which children do or do not have the requisite skills to allow them to participate in the current educational systems, i.e., are they sufficiently proficient in the English language to participate in the "mainstream" monolingual setting. With this attitude many have interpreted the problem as one of simply determining whether or not a child is "dominant" in English. The unfortunate part here is that while a test of language "dominance" may be a convenient way to satisfy the legal aspects of the Lau decision, it tells nothing about specific needs of an individual child. A student who scores in the 79 percentile in English and the 65 percentile in Spanish is easily classified as "English dominant." The real truth is that that child may have problems in both languages. Or what about a student who scores in the 65 percentile in both languages? According to the Lau categories, he or she would be classified as a perfect bilingual ("...speaks both the language other than English and English with equal ease.").

The real problem here is that the concept of "dominance" is ill-defined as the Lau categories. Moreover, how does the concept of dominance clarify the relation between the child's linguistic development and school achievement in such a way that we can actually do something about it? Another way of asking this question is by asking whether or not "dominance" in and of itself determines either what is learned or what can be learned.

Almost immediately after receiving the Lau Remedies, school administrators asked for help in deciding which test to use. The immediate answer was that they should use the valid one. But which one is valid? Inasmuch as the OCR Remedies specifically state that the intent behind the district's assessment of linguistic ability is "...to place the student(s) in one of the following categories by language," then it is the Lau decision that has served as criterion validation and the instruments a district uses are valid if they can place students into the five levels or categories set out in the OCR Remedies.

What this has meant is that to a large extent, the normal process of research has been suspended as a result of the need for a practical action. Furthermore, this has placed OCR personnel in the precarious position of having to make judgements about an instrument's technical properties without the benefit of research or a background in the field. However, problems associated with issues of predictive, concurrent, and other indices of validity and reliability are technical in nature and not particularly within the scope of this discussion. The key point of the present discussion is that these are technical issues associated with attempts to deal with the question of whether or not a test really measures what it purports to in a reliable way. And, with few exceptions, these issues have been subordinated by practical necessity. Therefore, for the moment let us leave the more technical issues of psychometrics aside and briefly consider the question of what to measure.

Based on the project Best (1974, 1975) descriptive bibliography of instruments available for use in the assessment of bilingual programs and from data compiled by the Texas Education Agency (1975) on oral language assessment instruments, as well as our own examination of available instruments, we have completed a preliminary analysis of 46 currently available language assessment instruments: twenty of these instruments are classified as "language dominance" tests; thirty can be classified as "language proficiency" tests and eight instruments measure both "dominance" and "proficiency." Further findings will be discussed below within the context of the structure of language. A list of the tests which we examined is provided in Appendix "A".

It is a generally accepted notion that language consists of four primary subsystems: the phonemic system (the basic sounds of the language), the referential system (the "words" of the language), the syntactical system (the rules for making meaningful sentences), and the pragmatic system (the use of language to obtain specific goals).

The foundation of any language is its phonemic system. It is from this small set of basic sounds that all meaningful words of the language are constructed. For this reason if the student cannot hear the difference between these basic sounds (decode them) then he/she will not be able to understand words constructed from them in daily and instructional conversations. On the other hand, if the student cannot pronounce the sounds (encode them) then others will have difficulties in understanding his/her communications. It is these phonemes and the variants or allophones, which present the most difficulties to the student moving from one language to another. In addition there is increasing evidence that familiarity with the phonemic system is a very important aspect of learning to read and write. (C. Chomsky, 1970; N. Chomsky, 1970; Read, 1971).

Of the 46 language assessment instruments we examined, only four included a measure of phoneme production; of these, three were tests of Spanish proficiency, one was a test of English proficiency. We found no instrument described as a test of language dominance which included a measure of phoneme production.

There were, however, six tests which measured auditory discrimination. Four were tests of language proficiency, and three assessed both proficiency and dominance.

It is our feeling that the purpose for including auditory discrimination and phoneme production items in an assessment of language is in order to determine if the subject has a problem with a significant aspect of language, i.e., does he or she have a communication problem and thus a need for help. Whether a child pronounces the initial "p" of the American English word "party" as an aspirated or as an unaspirated stop there probably won't be any lack of communication. On the other hand, if the child cannot distinguish between "sheep" and "cheap" or "yellow" and "jello" in either coding or encoding, there will likely be a breakdown in communication and/or an occasion for ridicule, as in the case of a visiting foreign student who announced, "When I go out to dinner, I always wash the hostess." Thus it would seem that a measure of auditory discrimination or production should include the significant sounds in the target language.

The referential system (lexical), the next level of language, consists of the meaningful units constructed from the basic phonemes. It is this level of "words" (Lexical items or morphemes) which ultimately determines the meaning of any sentence (Langacker, 1967). In addition, it appears that a knowledge of at least some lexical items are extremely important if not absolutely necessary for acquiring syntax of the corresponding language (Moeser & Bregman, 1972; Moeser & Olson, 1974). Unfortunately, in assessing the repertoire of referential units, substantial extralinguistic factors are encountered, particularly the student's level of education and experience. If the level of education is high and the environment offers diverse experiences the student will learn a wide range of words. For the restricted student the opportunity for word acquisition is considerably less. It is for this reason that most vocabulary tests correlate very highly with I.Q. scores (Irwin, 1960) and socioeconomic class (e.g., Osser, Wang & Zaid, 1969). In other articles De Avila and Havassy (1974) have argued against the use of vocabulary tests in an attempt to assess the intellectual development of children from non-English-speaking backgrounds.

Forty-three of the 46 tests included in our analysis claimed to measure various levels of lexical ability: the ability to respond to isolated words. Twenty-one of these tests assessed aural lexical comprehension; 16 measured oral lexical production; and six included a measure of written lexical comprehension (i.e., reading).

It is quite true, as Miller (1965) emphasizes, that a sentence is not "a linear sum of the significance of the words that comprise it." It is also true that words in isolation may have different meanings. However, the fact that a student has problems with American English lexical items is an indication of a weakness which may contribute to difficulty in the mainstream setting. Either the student has had little or no experience in the language. In either case, from the point of view of what we can infer from the Lau decision, the student has a language need or deficit which may limit "the opportunity to participate..."

The third level of language is the syntactical system (the rules for combining words into a meaningful sentence). Syntax is essential for the understanding of the language because the relationship between words provides a major contribution to the meaning of communications in that language. For example, while the sentence "The cat chases the rat" has the same words as the sentence "The rat chases the cat", they have very different meanings. The meaning of a sentence also depends on how words are grouped. As in

Miller's (1965) excellent example, the sentence, "They are hunting dogs," may have two distinct meanings depending on whether we group "are hunting" or "hunting dogs."

The usual method of assessing linguistic ability (and specifically, syntactical ability) is through the analysis of the subject's linguistic production. It should be noted that there are a number of problems inherent in using this method to assess syntax.

1. The meanings of the results are difficult to interpret because they do not distinguish between what the subject can do and what it does do (McNeill, 1970);
2. Substantial effects due to socioeconomic class have been observed (Moore, 1971);
3. Interactions between situation and subcultural groups are often found (Brukman, 1973);
4. It is very difficult to know the exact input the child is responding to;
5. The interpretation of the results must take into account the age of the subject; and
6. Variations in syntax do not mean communication is necessarily lost.

Thirty-four of the tests we examined included items assessing oral syntax comprehension and 32 measured oral syntax production. Thirteen measured written syntax comprehension (i.e., reading), and nine included written syntax production.

In an effort to isolate those tests which most completely covered the four components of syntactical ability -- listening, speaking, reading and writing -- we found five instruments which measured both aural syntax comprehension, and oral production as well as written syntax comprehension and production. Of these five, two were proficiency tests for high school and adult students of languages other than English and three were Spanish and

English "language dominance" tests covering grades K to 12, Pre K to 6 and K to 12 respectively.

The fourth subsystem of language is a person's ability to use the language for his/her own ends (pragmatics). Examples of pragmatic use of language include a student's ability to carry out relevant tasks requiring language such as playing with peers, shopping at the store, reading a newspaper, asking directions from a policeman or writing a letter to a friend. From our brief review it would appear that this area has generally been overlooked in both research and application. Only nine of the 46 tests we analyzed included items which could be classified as pragmatic. These usually took the form of an oral interview with the subject who was directly questioned regarding his/her language habits. All but one of these eight tests were classified as tests of "language dominance."

As a final comment it is of some significance to note that while the Lau Remedies encourage the use of prescriptive techniques, only one of the 46 tests we examined contained any concrete suggestions as to specific activities or exercises to remediate any of the problems identified.

In addition, De Avila (1976) has argued that the testing of a child represents a social interaction between three potentially distinct cultures as reflected by the test administrator, the test itself and the child. In those cases where these cultures fail to match results are bound to be spurious. Along the same lines, it is important to bear in mind that the test situation provides a rather limited sample of behavior requiring the subject's full comprehension of the "demand characters" of the test. Thus, for example, the child who, for whatever reason, provides terse or very short responses to open-ended questions will be penalized by virtue of the low frequency of linguistic markers. While, on the other hand, a child who offers the longer response, has the advantage insofar as the probability of a given marker results from the joint function of the child's linguistic and conceptual development in conjunction with the length of the response. In virtually no cases did we find a test which took all of these factors into account, either through pretraining or other procedures. Given the complexity of the problem, it is probably doubtful that one could.

Given the myriad of both practical and theoretical problems associated with the testing of what would appear to be millions of children, one might wonder if it would be more appropriate to test the linguistic competency of the teachers; thus turning the question addressed by the Lau decision around and considering whether the institutions are in a position to provide educational services in a way which is compatible with the linguistic background of the children.

In summary, our review seems to show that different tests seem to measure different things. And no single test seems to measure all of the various aspects thought to be important. How well they do measure what they claim to is still another question. It would be foolhardy to attempt to review the multitudinous fashions in which authors have attempted to validate their works. There seems to be no consistent pattern. Moreover, since to our knowledge, none of these instruments was specifically designed to meet Lau requirements, it would be equally foolhardy to discuss whether or not they were validated against the five level category system. In closing, then, let us consider a few issues in the more general sense.

If the question involved in the Lau decision is actually one of language instruction, then there are three alternatives: 1) ESL; 2) immersion in English; or 3) native language immersion combined with ESL.

In most ESL programs, the child is pulled out of the regular classroom for a short period of time and given instruction in English language arts, then returned to the classroom where she/he does not comprehend and cannot respond for the rest of the day. This leaves the child outside of "participating" in a full educational experience. By the same token, it means that the child's linguistic experience (i.e., ESL class time) is outside of the normal educational context. That is, as the child learns English she/he is falling further and further behind in all of the other subject areas.

In our review of some studies of attempts to teach language to children findings indicate they have had limited success. In fact, one of the elements of the Bereiter-Englemann (1966) preschool program is the teaching of the concept of the negative statement such as "this is not paper." Cazden (1972) cites the work of one of her students (Schrager) who studied children's use of negative statements exclusive of a language lesson which set out to teach the correct syntactical construction. Schrager (1971) found 350 examples (out of a total of 396) of negatives which did not necessarily fit the intended structure of the language lesson.

To this we might add that Cazden (1971) reviewed a number of studies which attempted to determine the extent to which linguistic coding ability (i.e., an ability to use symbols outside of the learned situation) could be assisted through intervention. From her review, Cazden concluded "...first, in the acquisition of language use as distinct from language structure, the child is aided by what he is encouraged to say, not what he simply hears. Second, adults seem to be essential for such encouragement. Finally, there is a danger that specified training will produce too specific learning."

According to Cazden (1972) the above limitations to the structured acquisition of language are summarized in two paradoxes. First, while parents present no formally structured approach to language instruction all children seem to learn it as well as to generalize it to novel situations, and second, whereas all children seem to readily acquire their natural language under widely varying circumstances, attempts to provide direct language instruction inevitably leads to limited improvement over fairly short periods of time. To this end Edmonds (1976) has recently argued that a full understanding of language acquisition will not emerge until the process is viewed within a larger developmental framework.

Edmond's argument has received strong support from two independent sources. First, Tremaine (1975) has examined "syntax as an instance of operational intelligence" defined in the Piagetian sense:

> The results strongly suggested that when children learning a second language reach the stage of concrete operations, comprehension of the syntax of both their native and their second language improves greatly. In sixty-two out of sixty-five independent analyses of variance for the operational factor, it was found that children classified as operational performed significantly better in both languages than children classified as non-operational. (1974, p. 48)

What this means is that solutions which focus on English language deficits will be of limited success as long as developmental factors are not taken into account.

Second, De Avila et al (1976) has shown that the performance of over 6,000 Mexican American children on a wide variety of Piagetian tasks is fundamentally the same as their Anglo counterparts when linguistic and sociocultural factors are controlled. On the other hand, while the conceptual development of Mexican American children seems to be equal to that of Anglo children there are distinct differences in school-related achievement. These differences, De Avila (1974) has argued, are due to linguistic and sociocultural biases inherent in most of the currently used educational approaches. As such, De Avila, like Tremaine and others, has recommended an integration of linguistic and developmental approaches and the development of programs which match linguistic and developmental assessment which result in specific classroom recommendations.

Given these bases and other data, ESL as a solution to the Lau dilemma would seem less and less a viable alternative. In fact, the recommendation of the Center for Applied Linguistics that an ESL program alone was inadequate for teaching linguistically different elementary school children has been nationally adopted in the OCR guidelines for Lau decision compliance (Troike, 1976).

Complete immersion in English is certainly a viable alternative and one which should have the effect of preparing the child for participation in the educational process. Basically this is what we find in the schools today and there are any number of immigrants from Europe and other places throughout the world, who will speak for this sink-or-swim technique. With respect to the Chicano, Latin American or any child living in a highly ethnically homogeneous neighborhood, the technique has little chance for success. The primary reason is that the children are simply not afforded language models outside of the schools which are really any different from themselves. In other words, there is little motivation for speaking standard English outside of the schools. Further, why even try when there is little in the way of positive reinforcement for trying. And anything less than perfect is labeled as "pocho," deficit or substandard.

Paradoxically, it is also of some value to note that this method has had the greatest success of any of the attempts to promote bilingualism (see Cohen, 1975; Lambert & Peal, 1972). The bitter irony, however, is that it doesn't seem to work in the absence of equal status for both languages. In other words, Chicano children are simply not going to want to learn standard English as long as their own language (sub-standard though it may be) is held as an object of scorn and ridicule.

Potentially the third alternative is most unique and enriching. This approach offers full time instruction (entire curriculum) in the child's native language with simultaneous instruction in English as a second language in the same way that for quite a few years American students in some school districts have been receiving instruction in English with simultaneous instruction in French or in Spanish as a second language. Through this approach there is no longer any problem with getting the linguistically different child to a level at which he or she can participate; any child of school age is already there in his/her native language. The results of this kind of program are multiple.

The linguistically different child becomes a genuine bilingual. The native language is maintained and at the same time the school instruction and the dominant English language of the environment ensure that he/she becomes proficient in English. In addition, a total second language education -- whether it be Spanish or Chinese -- could be made available to the American English-speaking child, with the concurrent advantages in attitude and intelligence, and at no extra cost to the school district.

The assumption underlying the Lau decision, and for that matter any programs aimed at the remediation of an English language deficit, is that children from homes where English is not the first language will fail in the schools as long as they don't learn English. Given the present attitudinal and organizational structure of the schools, this is true. However, a deeper assumption implicit in these approaches is that unless the child learns English she/he cannot learn. This is simply not true. It has the net effect of shifting the burden from the adult educator to the child who can do little or nothing.

If we were to turn the question around and forget looking at language as an end in itself and look at what can be learned through promoting bilingualism, an entirely different picture emerges. Recent work drawn from a variety of sources would suggest that the benefit of bilingualism would far exceed any short term educational (or linguistic) deficits.

In by far the most rigorously controlled series of experiments on the relationship between language, intellectual development and school related achievement, Peal and Lambert (1962) matched monolingual and bilingual groups to show that:

> The picture that emerges of the French/English bilingual in Montreal is that of a youngster whose wider experiences in two cultures have given him advantages which a monolingual does not enjoy. Intellectually his experience with two language systems seems to have left him with a mental flexibility, a superiority in concept formation, and a more diversified set of mental abilities, in the sense that the patterns of abilities developed by bilinguals were more heterogeneous...In contrast, the monolingual appears to have a more unitary structure of intelligence which he must use for all types of intellectual tasks (Peal and Lambert, 1963, p. 6).

Further review of the literature on bilingualism would tend to support the above conclusions in research conducted throughout the world from Singapore (Torrance, *et*. *al*., 1970), Switzerland (Balkan, 1971), South Africa (Ianoco-Worrall, 1972), Israel and New York (Ben Zeev, 1972), Western Canada (Cummins and Gulustan, 1973), Montreal (Scott, 1973) and from the United States on Chicano populations (De Avila and Havassy, 1975, 1976; Cohen, 1975; Feldman and Shen, 1972). According to Lambert (1976), there have not been any recent contradictions to these positive findings which show definite advantages on measures of cognitive flexibility, creativity and diversity. Finally, research implications drawn from the study of "metalinguistics" (Cazden, 1972) would seem to provide further, if not stronger support for the contention that bilingualism is an intellectual asset, and not a deficit as has been believed.

We thus come to what is perhaps the ultimate problem, which is that the issue addressed by the _Lau_ decision is legal and its solution symptomatic of the very problem that produced the original litigation. This problem really cuts across every level of American society. The problem addressed by _Lau_ is but one facet. As such, _Lau_ is an indirect attempt to address the problem of language status through level means which unfortunately are not based on what we know about education, or more importantly, about how and what children learn. That it produces as many questions as it attempts to answer is good in that it means that the educator, test developer and/or any other person working with children for whom English is not the primary language, will have to think a little bit more about what they are doing, lest we all become co-conspirators.

Appendix A

List of Language Tests Examined

Assessment Program of Early Learning Skills (APPEL)

Auditory Discrimination Test (ADT)

Auditory Pointing Test (APT)

Austin Spanish Articulation Test (AUSTIN)

Basic Inventory of Natural Language (BINL)

Bilingual Syntax Measure (BSM)

Comprehensive English Language Test (CELT)

City College Language Dominance Tests for Spanish-English Bilinguals: Ambiguous Verbal Stimulus Test and Flexibility Test to Measure Language Dominance in Spanish-English Bilinguals (CITY COLLEGE)

Diagnostic Text for Students of English as a Second Language (DIAGNOSTIC)

Dos Amigos Verbal Language Scale (DOS AMIGOS)

Project Frontier Student Placement Questionnaire (FRONTIER)

Gloria & David (GDLA)

Hebrew Language Tests (HEBREW)

Ilyin Oral Interview (ILYIN)

Language Usage (INTER-AMERICAN)

Inter-American Series: Comprehension of Oral Language and CIA

James Language Dominance Test (JAMES)

Language Ability Scale in English and Spanish (LAS)

Language Dominance Index Form (IDIF)

Language Dominance Survey (LDS)

Language Facility Test (LFT)

MAT-SEA-CAL

MLA-Cooperative Foreign Language Tests (MLA)

Marysville Test of Language Dominance (MTLD)

Michigan Oral Language Production Tests (MOLPT)

Navajo-English Language Dominance Assessment (NAVAJO-SPOLSKY)

Orientation in American English Placement & Proficiency Tests (OAE)

Oral Language Inventory (OLI)

Oral Language Proficiency Test (OLPT)

Oral Placement Test and Oral Production Test (ORAL)

Pimsleur Modern Foreign Language Proficiency Tests (PIMSLEUR)

Placement Tests for Speakers of Other Languages (PLACEMENT-ABE)

Pupil's Language Usage Inventory (PLUI)

Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT)

Pruebas de Puerto Rico: English Language Test (PRUEBAS)

Spanish-English Language Performance Sample (SELPS)

English Phonemic Unit Production Test & Spanish Phonemic Unit Production Test (SKOCZYLAS)

Home Bilingual Usage Estimate (SKOCZYLAS)

Spolsky Spanish-English Language Dominance Assessment (SPOLSKY)

Screening Test for Auditory Comprehension of Language (STACL-Short Form)

SWCEL Test of Oral English Production (SWCEL-Eng.)

SWCEL Spanish Oral Capacity Test (SWCEL-Span.)

Test of Auditory Comprehension of Language (TACL-Long Form)

Tests of Basic Language Competence in English and Spanish (TBLC)

Test of Language Dominance (TOLD)

ZIP Test: Language Facility Section (ZIP)

References

Balkan, L. Les effets du bilinguisme francais-anglais sur les aptitudes intellectuelles. Bruxelles: Aimav, 1971.

Been-Zeev, S. The influence of bilingualism on cognitive development and cognitive strategy. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1972.

Bereiter, C. and Englemann, S. Teaching disadvantaged children in the preschool. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1966.

Brukman, J. Language and Socialization: Child Culture and the Ethnographer's Task. Paper presented at the 1972 Meeting of the American Ethnological Society.

Cazden, C. B. Two Paradoxes in the Acquisition of Language Structure. Paper presented at a conference on The Development of Competence in Early Childhood, sponsored by The Developmental Sciences Trust, CIBA Foundation, London, January 10-14, 1972.

Chomsky, C. Reading, Writing and Phonology. *Harvard Educational Review*. 1970, 40, 287-309.

Chomsky, N. Phonology and Reading. In H. Levin & J. Williams (Eds.), *Basic Studies in Reading*. New York: Basic Books, 1970.

Cohen, A. *A Socio-Linguistic Approach to Bilingual Education: An Experiment in the American Southwest*. Newbury House, Rowley, Mass. In press.

Cummins, J. and Gulustan, M. Some Effects of Bilingualism on Cognitive Functioning. Mimeo. University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1973.

De Avila, E. and Havassy, B. E. The Testing of Minority Children: A Neo-Piagetian Approach. *Today's Education Journal of the National Education Association*. November-December 1974, 72-75.

__________. Piagetian Alternatives to IQ: Mexican American Study. In Nicholas Hobbs (Ed.), *Issues In The Classification of Children*. Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1975.

De Avila, E. and Pulos, S. The performance of Mexican American and Anglo Children on Pictorially Presented Piagetian Tasks. Submitted *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1976.

Edmonds, Marilyn H. New Directions in Theories of Language Acquisition. *Harvard Educational Review*. May 1976, Vol. 46, No. 2, p. 175.

Ehrlich, Alan and Ehrlich, Roselin. Tests in Spanish and Other Languages, English as a Second Language and Non-Verbal Tests for Bilingual Programs, B.E.A.R.U. Project Best, May 1975.

__________. 1975 Supplement: Tests in Spanish and Other Languages, English as a Second Language, and Non-Verbal Tests for Bilingual Programs. An Annotated B.E.A.R.U. Bibliography. Project Best, May 1975.

Feldman, C. and Shen, M. Some Language-Related Cognitive Advantages of Bilingual Five-Year-Olds. *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 1971, 118, 235-244.

Gardner, Robert C. and Lambert, Wallace E. Attitudes and Motivation in Second-Language Learning. Newbury House Publishers, Rosley, Mass. 1972.

Gonzales, Josue M. and Fernandes, Ricardo. Toward the Development of Minimal Specifications for *LAU*-Related Language Assessments. Mimeo. 1976.

Ianco-Worral, A. Bilingualism and Cognitive Development. *Child Development*, 1972, 43, 1390-1400.

Irwin, O. C. Language and Communication. In P. H. Mussen (Ed.) *Handbook of Research Method in Child Development*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1960.

Langacker, R. W. *Language and Its Structure*. New York: Harcourt, 1967.

McNeill, D. The Development of Language. In P.H. Mussen (Ed.) *Carmichael's Manual of Child Psychology*. (3rd edition) Vol. 1, New York: Wiley & Sons, 1970.

Moeser, S. D. and Olson, A. J. The Role of Reference in Children's Acquisition of a Miniature Artificial Language. *Journal of Experimental Child Psychology*. 1947, 17, 204-218.

Miller, George A. Some Preliminaries to Psycholinguistics, American Psychologist, Vol. 20, No. 1, January 1965, 15-21.

Moore, D. A Comparison of Two Methods of Teaching Specific Language Skills to Lower-Class Preschool Children. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Harvard University, 1971.

Office for Civil Rights. Task Force Findings Specifying Remedies Available for Eliminating Past Educational Practices Ruled Unlawful under *Lau* vs. *Nichols.* Summer 1975.

Osser, H., Wang, M. and Zaid, F. The Young Child's Ability to Imitate and Comprehend Speech: A Comparison of Two Subcultural Groups. *Child Development*, 1969, 40, 1063-1076.

Peal, Elizabeth and Lambert, W. E. The Relation of Bilingualism to Intelligence. *Psychological Monographs*, 76 (1962), Whole No. 546.

Read, C. Preschool Children's Knowledge of English Phonology. *Harvard Educational Review*, 1971, 41- 1-34.

Schrager, T. "Ain't" Didn't Never Hurt No One. Unpublished research paper, Harvard Graduate School of Education, 1971.

Scott, S. The Relation of Divergent Thinking to Bilingualism: Cause or Effect. Unpublished research report, McGill University, 1973.

Texas Education Agency, Division of Bilingual Education. Oral Language Assessment Instruments. Mimeo. May 1975.

Torrance, E. P., Gowan, J. C. Wu, J. M. and Aliotti, N. C. Creative Functioning of Monolingual and Bilingual Children in Singapore, Journal of Educational Psychology, 1970, 61, 72-75.

Tremaine, Ruth V. Syntax and Piagetian Operational Thought. Georgetown University, 1975, p. 48.

Troike, Rudolph C. The Contribution of Linguistics to Bilingual-Bicultural Education. Mimeo, Center for Applied Linguistics, 1976.

PANEL VI: Excerpts from Discussants' Remarks

DR. MILAN: As long as we continue to define "dominance" in terms of test scores, we don't even have a basis to argue its relevance to learning. Any test, no matter how psychometrically valid, defies the most crucial principle of sociolinguistics: contextualization... Let us not forget that the testing experience is also a social situation, a very abnormal one. As such, the testing context can impose serious inhibitions on the student. Rather than yielding an objective measure of competence, it may actually produce a reading of very limited performance...

On the issue of pragmatics, as a sociolinguist I am forced to frown upon a test that will consist of self-report items in which children describe their own language behavior. Such questionnaires are notoriously unreliable...

With regard to English immersion programs, I wish we could put an end once and for all to the myth that the so-called immersion method is a viable alternative in American education... The success of those rigorously controlled experiments that we read about are largely the result of the ideal circumstances under which they were conducted. Lambert, Tucker and Giles... were not dealing with children of low socioeconomic background. They did not have to work with teachers who hold no expectations for these children and thus cause them to perform accordingly. They were not faced with minority community attitudes towards the majority culture which are detrimental to the acquisition of the majority language. They did not have to deal with a school system that is basically hostile to the population in question...

Are we talking about the school as a speech community? If so, could it be that we have there a speech community with widespread intra-group multilingualism with patterns we must learn. I mean, could it be that the student's use of his native vernacular at home and in the peer group may be due to social pressures rather than to linguistic competence? Perhaps, after all, languages may not be the issue...

I would call "dominance" the highest rate of effective language usage as determined by multiple, community-defined sociolinguistic constructs; in other words, diversity of domains through a broad repertoire range. If so defined, then and only then, will the measure of dominance have any relevance to learning.

DR. GONZALEZ: Do we give up on the tests completely and say we cannot use measures like that, or do we... use the instruments, imperfect though they may be, using the best thinking available, and accept for ourselves very modest expectations? I think that if we at least know that the instruments are faulty, that the information they provide does not prescribe instruction, then we can use them with some benefit (until better ones are developed)...

(We have to use common-sense alternatives in the classroom.) The teacher does conduct research projects in the classroom every day. The teacher does not run to the computer in the evening after going home from the class and feed all the stuff in and wait for it the next morning before continuing with instruction.

PANEL VI: Synopsis of Floor Discussion

Dr. Troike (Center for Applied Linguistics) urged the necessity of studying language in a much more comprehensive way than traditional assessment instruments do. In particular he felt that phonological criteria and vocabulary items were relatively unimportant as indices of language competence. It was necessary, he argued, to concentrate on social-interactional aspects of speech behavior. Furthermore, the testing must be carried on in context-bound situations. Traditional instruments are not diagnostic because they are atomistic. They also fail to take into account regional and social varieties within English.

PANEL VII: Introductory Statement

Panel VII addressed topic "4" (see page 4). The Principal Investigator was Dr. Gustavo González. His paper was entitled "The Lau Remedies: Psycholinguistic Considerations in Educational Program Selection." Serving as Discussants were Dr. Rudolph Troike, Director of the Center for Applied Linguistics in Arlington, Virginia, and Mr. Bernie Martinez, Project Director of the Center for Cross-Cultural Education in Denver, Colorado. The panel was presided over by Ms. Lucille Echohawk, member of the Lau Project Advisory Board. Dr. González' paper is reproduced on the following pages.

THE LAU REMEDIES: PSYCHOLINGUISTIC CONSIDERATIONS IN EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM SELECTION

Gustavo González

University of California, Santa Barbara

The issue of inequality of educational opportunity for linguistically different school children has existed for many years. Public school officials and teachers residing in areas with sizable numbers of non-English dominant children have been well aware of the instructional "problem" posed by these students. Where remedies have been provided, these have been limited to English as a second language classes lasting at most forty minutes a day; in many cases, the student is denied even this bare minimum and is expected to "pick up" the language through exposure to subject matter presented exclusively in English. The failure of these approaches in meeting the needs of the linguistic minority population has been accurately documented in the appalling drop-out rate for non-English-dominant students compared to that of the Anglo population.[1]

The judicial system has played an increasingly significant role in furthering the cause of equal educational opportunity for linguistically and culturally different groups. In ruling against the plaintiff in San Antonio School Board vs. Rodríguez, the courts denied the contention that education was a right that is guaranteed by the Constitution.[2] Lau vs. Nichols provided a different challenge for the courts. The plaintiffs in this case argued that the civil rights of non-English-speaking Chinese children in San Francisco were being violated because public school instruction was conducted exclusively in English, a language the children could not understand. This difference in language precluded their meaningful participation in the schools' instructional program.[3] The Supreme Court decided in favor of the plaintiff, agreeing that the children's right had been violated under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. The schools have an affirmative obligation to provide students unable to speak and understand English a meaningful opportunity to participate in their schools' instructional program.

---

[1] U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. The Mexican American Education Study. Report #2: The Unfinished Education. Washington, D.C., 1971.

[2] San Antonio School Board vs. Rodríguez, 411 U.S. 1 (1973).

[3] Lau vs. Nichols, 414 U.S. at 566.

As is common in such court cases, the decision handed down did not specify remedies; the closest the ruling came to anything approximating remedy was in its conclusion that "appropriate relief" should be provided.[4] Faced with the task of enforcing the decree, the Office for Civil Rights, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare developed a set of guidelines to be used by its own investigators in determining which school districts were in compliance with the Lau decision. The document, developed in the summer of 1975, sets forth useful and important information for districts needing to comply with the Supreme Court ruling, and covers items ranging from identification of students eligible for relief under Lau, to the types of programs acceptable for providing such relief.

The ultimate result of district compliance with Lau should be the planning, development, and implementation of an instructional program that adequately meets the educational needs of the non-English or limited English-speaking group. Many diverse factors need to be taken into account in carrying out this activity. One of the most important of these is the psycholinguistic aspect involved in native language maintenance and second language learning, especially the relationship between the two. The importance of language in instruction was clearly evident in the arguments presented before the Supreme Court, and in the ruling itself. Although an adequate educational plan consists of more than language instruction, it is clear that language must play a central role in any Lau educational plan.

---

[4] Lau vs. Nichols, 414 U.S. at 569.

As identified by the Office for Civil Rights in its summer 1975 document, the target population can be linguistically classified into the following categories: 1) monolingual in a language other than English; 2) dominant in a language other than English; and 3) bilingual. Each category is divided into two major levels: elementary/intermediate and secondary. For each group and within each level, the overriding concern is the acquisition of those English language skills that will enable the pupil to participate fully and expeditiously in the regular instructional program of the school. Indeed, where bilingual programs are allowed, such inclusion is with the clear understanding that the proposed program must not result in delay in acquisition of English language skills (OCR report, p. 9).

Our primary concern, therefore, is that group of children who for a variety of reasons and under a variety of linguistic and social circumstances, has acquired a first language that is other than English, and who will be expected to function in English within the span of the program. Two questions are of paramount importance here: In what ways are the acquisition (first language) process and the second-language-learning process similar and in what ways are they different? What influence does the first language exert on the learning of the second? The research literature provides some tentative answers to these questions.

A significant part of the literature supports the conclusion that first and second language acquisition by children follow similar courses. These investigations have examined the order in which parts of the language (such as the morphology or syntax) are acquired. In studies conducted by Dulay and Burt (1972, 1973), similarities were noted in native and second language learning processes. The evidence came from speech samples of 100 Spanish-speaking children between the ages of five and eight years. The majority of second language speech production (the Spanish-speaking child learning English) exhibited the same patterns as were found in children learning English as a first (or native) language.

Natalicio and Natalicio (1971) investigated the acquisition of English pluralization rules through use of nonsense words, an approach very similar to that of Berko (1958). Native English and native Spanish-speaking children from grades one through three and grade ten were used as subjects. Both groups of speakers exhibited a similar order of acquisition of pluralization rules. In a study of word order comparing English-speaking students learning French in Switzerland with native French-speaking children, Erwin Tripp (1973) reports similar strategies between the two groups in the interpretation of NVN (Noun - Verb - Noun) sequences.

Another similarity that has been noted between first and second language acquisition is that of _overregularization_, a process through which irregular forms (such as _feet_, _went_) are brought into conformity with the "regular" forms, yielding deviant forms. Under this process, the plural of _foot_ would be rendered as _foots_ (the root _foot_ plus the plural marker -_s_); the past tense of _go_ would be _goed_ (the root _go_ plus the past tense marker -_ed_). Erwin (1964) and Dulay and Burt (1972) report the substitution of regular verb forms for irregular forms. González (in press) observed such forms as _growed_ for _grown_ in his study of the speech of native Spanish-speaking migrant children learning English in the elementary school. This same process was evident in native acquisition of Spanish as exemplified by _sabo_ for _sé_ ("I know") and _ero_ for _soy_ ("I am," reported in González, 1968, p. 61).

Not all studies report similarity in order of acquisition between first and second language. Cancino, Rosansky, and Schumann (1974) in their study of learning English as a second language by two adults, two adolescents, and two children (all of whom spoke Spanish as a first language), found that none of their subjects followed the native language sequence for acquisition of the negative reported by Klima and Bellugi (1966). Hakuta (1974) studied the speech development of a Japanese girl learning English as a second language. A comparison of English morphological development with Brown's longitudinal data (1973) led to the conclusion that the Japanese subject did not follow the same order of acquisition. González (1974) noted that his native Spanish-speaking subjects were more advanced in question formation than the English-speaking children at similar chronological levels studied by Brown, Cazden and Bellugi (1969). Based on the available findings, the most we can conclude is that, for those linguistic phenomena that have been studied, there do appear to be differences in order of acquisition between native and non-native speakers of a language. The processes operating in native and non-native language acquisition (such as overregularization), however, appear to apply equally well in both situations. Differences between first and second language acquisition thus seem to lie in the order of acquisition of different aspects of the language (such as plural formation) and not in the different language-learning strategies used.

Within second language learning itself, studies suggest that some patterns exist. Hatch (1974) found similar sequences of acquisition of English auxiliary, auxiliary + negative, and auxiliary inversion in questions by children from different language backgrounds, including Spanish, Japanese, Persian, and French. Rosansky, Schumann, and Cancino (1974) found that their Spanish-speaking subjects acquired the English negative in similar stages. Other studies (Fathman, 1975; Dulay and Burt, 1974a, 1974b) have focused on different elements of the language and arrived at similar conclusions.

The structure of the child's first language has an important bearing on his learning of his second language. Through language habits acquired as part of his first language, the child has learned a certain way of articulating individual sounds, of arranging sounds in sequences, and of expressing concepts using certain word order. The child's first tendency upon coming in contact with the second language will be to filter the second language input through his first language habits and structures, substituting sounds and structures from his first language for those in the new language. Effects from the first language can be manifested at the phonological, morphological, and syntactic levels. González (in press) cites examples of Spanish influence on English; Hakuta (1974) provides examples of Japanese language influence on English. In both cases, modifications in the second language (English) are based on the first language system.

Aside from errors stemming directly from the first language (interlingual interference), errors have been reported in several studies which cannot be traced directly to the first language. This type of error, called intralingual interference, results from the structure inherent to the language being learned; as such, it poses problems for the learner regardless of his first language background. Examples of this in English include I can to speak French and Make him to do it (Richards, 1973). Interference from the first language thus cannot account for all second language difficulties; prediction of errors on the basis of interlingual interference seems to be more successful at some levels than others. According to Richards (1973), this type of prediction is most accurate in the area of phonology and least accurate in the area of syntax.

An important factor in learning a second language that is often overlooked is that of attitudes toward the language being learned. Lambert and Gardner (1972) found that the student's attitude toward the target language and its native speakers was a better predictor of success than was his linguistic aptitude. The research findings cited in Feenstra (1969) underscore the importance of parental and teacher attitudes toward the second language. Spolsky (1969) notes that the English proficiency of foreign students attending American universities is significantly related to their desire to identify with speakers of English rather than with speakers of their own native tongue. Space does not allow the inclusion of other research results bearing on this area. Suffice it to say that language attitude is a powerful factor that must be taken into account in the successful design and implementation of any second language program.

Equally important in second language instructional programs is the teacher's attitude toward the language background of the children learning the second language. Research by Frender, Brown, and Lambert (1970), Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968), and Seligman, Tucker, and Lambert (in press) suggests that teachers who are insensitive to local varieties of important world languages begin by acting negatively towards the child's variety of the language, proceeding to evaluate negatively even the nonverbal performance of the pupils. These findings are especially important in view of the history of "English only" instruction that has dominated the educational treatment of non-English speaking minority groups in the United States. They confirm the long-held suspicion that language minority student failure cannot be attributed solely to linguistic differences.

The research literature, though extensive, fails to present us with a cohesive and comprehensive view of language acquisition and second language learning. The nature of the research is such that only one small aspect of the totality and complexity of language is carefully studied at a time (the plural morpheme and word order are examples). The type of information currently available can at most provide isolated bits of information whose contribution to the planning, development, and implementation of an acceptable Lau educational program is unclear. It would be necessary to extrapolate, perhaps dangerously, in order to bridge the chasm between what we know and its application to educational solutions.

A great need exists for studies documenting English language difficulties encountered by all language groups covered under Lau at the different age levels. Studies aimed at identifying the most effective methodologies for presenting both content material and language under conditions such as would be found in Lau programs, are sorely needed. Other than intuition, there is little basis for making sound decisions regarding which language (English or the language other than English) would lend itself more readily for presenting different content material (science, math, social science, history). Some important areas remain virgin territory (acquisition of semantic elements in second language learning), while others have barely been touched (the acquisition of Chinese, Japanese, and Spanish as first languages).

The Office for Civil Rights Task Force Report of summer 1975 leaves unanswered some questions that need to be clarified before enforcement of Lau can take place. The section dealing with the determination of linguistic abilities does not specify what skills will be measured (pp. 1-2). Hopefully, it will include an assessment of the skills of listening, speaking, reading, and writing. This assessment should be undertaken by someone linguistically knowledgeable about the languages being assessed, preferably a person fluent in the languages, or a team of such persons.

The use of the term "functional" in describing linguistic ability is ambiguous. Does it mean sufficient fluency to enable the student to participate fully in the "regular" school curriculum? If this is so, and if posession of such fluency eliminates any possibility of receiving any instruction in the first language, why assess the first language?

On page 4, reference is made to "language dominance," yet the term is not defined anywhere. Does the term refer to the pupils' superior abilities in one language compared to the other (superior ability in Spanish when compared to English would be a definition of Spanish dominant)? Or is the term being used to refer to domains in which each language is used (e.g., home, church, school)? The emphasis on school achievement would seem to indicate that the first definition is more appropriate; yet, the importance given to the environments in which the child uses each language argues in favor of the second definition. If it is a combination of these two, its exact nature should be clearly spelled out.

Student readiness to make the transition (pp. 6-7) from a Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE) program to English raises questions about the basis to be used to make this determination. Is this readiness to be judged on a combination of adequate linguistic performance, cognitive gains, and so forth? What about the student's emotional readiness to make the change? Are there any suggested yardsticks (performance at "grade level" on year-end criterion-referenced tests covering the different content areas, performance on some sort of language measure that incorporates linguistic structures typical of the grade level at the end of the year)?

The role of ESL instruction for monolingual (other than English) students at the secondary level (p. 7, section B, option 1) is not well defined. Is ESL instruction intended to be a component of every class, or a component of the program, to be treated as a separate content area? If the former, will the expected outcomes be the same or different from those of the students in the "regular" program? Will the emphasis be on the acquisition of language skills, knowledge, or both? If ESL is a program component, a subject area like the rest, what provisions will be made to integrate the concepts learned in other classes with the acquisition of English language skills? This type of interface would certainly accelerate the student's entry into the "regular" program and increase his participation in it.

A clarification is needed regarding the meaning of the phrase "while combining English with the native language as appropriate (p. 8, option 2)." Is this "combining" intended as a replacement or as a supplement to ESL instruction? Or is reference here to a teaching technique whereby the teacher uses whichever language is required to convey the necessary meaning? Does "appropriate" refer to the teacher's language abilities or the student's needs?

Another phrase that seems vague is found on page 8, option 3. The phrase in question is "can operate equally successfully in school in English." Does "equally" as used here refer to parallel competence in native language and English? If so, how would HILT or ESL instruction develop this parallel competence, specifically that aspect referring to the native language?

The Task Force report requires or suggests that instructional personnel be linguistically/culturally familiar with the background of the students to be affected (p. 15, under Instructional Personnel Requirements). It is not nearly adequate for instructional personnel to be merely linguistically and culturally familiar with these aspects; ability in the skill areas of listening, speaking, reading, and writing in both languages involved is critical for any teachers engaged in programs described in I.A., I.B., II.A., and part of II.B. Familiarity may suffice for ESL instruction, but not for learning situations in which information is to be conveyed using the student's native language.

On page 16, the impression given is that all skills (language proficiency included) can be developed through inservice training, and that a given number of contact hours will certify someone as competent in the area. I would like to suggest that at least with respect to language fluency, competency be determined on the basis of examination. I remain unconvinced that inservice or preservice training sessions of the type conducted in schools today can develop fluency in a second language for teachers.

The courts have provided the opportunity for the initiation of meaningful changes in the education of our children. The Office for Civil Rights report has provided the first step on the long road to full enforcement of the court decision. It is hoped that this conference will continue this enormous task and provide for our children the educational future they deserve.

Bibliography

Berko, J. "The Child's Learning of English Morphology." Word, 1958, 14, pp. 150-177.

Brown, R. A First Language: The Early Stages. Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Press, 1973.

Brown, R., Cazden, C., and Bellugi, U. "The Child's Grammar from I to III." In J. P. Hill (Ed.), Minnesota Symposia on Child Psychology (Vol. II). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1969, pp. 28-73.

Cancino, H., Rosansky, E., and Schumann, J. "Testing Hypotheses about Second Language Acquisition: The Copula and Negative in Three Subjects." Working Papers in Bilingualism, 1974, 3, pp. 80-96.

Dulay, H., and Burt, M. "Goofing: An Indication of Children's Second Language Learning Strategies." Language Learning, 1972, 22 (2), pp. 235-251.

__________. "Should we Teach Children Syntax?" Language Learning, 1973, 23, pp. 245-258.

__________. "Errors and Strategies in Child Second Language Acquisition." TESOL Quarterly, 1974a, 8, 129-136.

__________. "Natural Sequences in Child Second Language Acquisition." Language Learning, 1974b, 24, pp. 37-53.

Ervin, S. M. "Imitation and Structural Change in Children's Language." In Lenneberg, E. New Directions in the Study of Language. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1964, pp. 163-189.

Ervin-Tripp, S. "Some Strategies for the First Two Years." In T. E. Moore (Ed.), Cognitive Development and the Acquisition of Language. New York: Academic Press, 1973, pp. 261-286.

Fathman, A. "Language Background, Age, and the Order of Acquisition of English Structures." In M. Burt and H. Dulay (Eds.), New Directions in Second Language Learning, Teaching, and Bilingual Education. Washington, D.C.: TESOL, 1975, pp. 33-43.

Feenstra, H. J. "Parent and Teacher Attitudes: Their Role in Second Language Acquisition." Canadian Modern Language Review, 26 (1969), pp. 5-13.

Frender, R., Brown, B., and Lambert, W. E. "The Role of Speech Characteristics in Scholastic Success." Canadian Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 2 (1970), pp. 229-306.

González, G. A Linguistic Profile of the Spanish-Speaking First Grader in Corpus Christi. Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Texas at Austin, 1968.

__________. "The Acquisition of Questions in Texas Spanish: Age 2-5." In Bills (Ed.), Southwest Areal Linguistics. San Diego: Institute for Cultural Pluralism, 1974, pp. 251-266.

__________. "The English of Spanish-Speaking Migrant Children in Texas." Aztlán, in press.

Hakuta, K. "A Preliminary Report on the Development of Grammatical Morphemes in a Japanese Girl Learning English as a Second Language." Working Papers in Bilingualism, 1974, 3, pp. 18-38.

Hatch, E. "Second Language Learning -- Universals." Working Papers in Bilingualism, 1974, 3, pp. 1-17.

Klima, E. and Bellugi, U. "Syntactic Regularities in the Speech of Children." In Lyons, J., and Wales, R.J. (Eds.), Psycholinguistics Papers, Edinburg: Edinburg University Press, 1966, pp. 183-208.

Lambert, W. E., and Gardner, R. C. Attitudes and Motivation in Second Language Learning. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1972.

Natalicio, D., and Natalicio, L. "A Comparative Study of English Pluralization by Native and Non-Native English Speakers." Child Development, 1971, 42, pp. 1302-1306.

Richards, J. C. "A Non-Contrastive Approach to Error Analysis." In Oller, J. W., and Richards, J.C. (Eds.), Focus on the Learner. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1973, pp. 96-113.

Rosansky, E., Schumann, J., and Cancino, H. "Second Language Acquisition: The Negative." Paper presented at the summer meeting of the Linguistic Society of American, Amherst, Mass., 1974.

Rosenthal, R. and Jacobson, L. Pygmalion in the Classroom. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1968.

Seligman, C. R., Tucker, G. R., and Lambert, W. E. "The Effects of Speech Style and Other Attributes on Teachers' Attitudes Toward Pupils." Language in Society, in press.

PANEL VII: Excerpts from Discussants' Remarks

MR. MARTINEZ: I would like to see those that have presented papers raise questions, fine, and discuss questions and see if we can find answers to them. But, also, what do they see as recommendations and how do we apply that research information into the practical aspects of program implementation. I haven't heard too many answers... I would like to see the researchers make some recommendations. I think Dr. Cazden yesterday morning presented some good things as far as recommendations...

In addition to the microscopic view of the researchers I think we have to depend very much on (common sense). As we try new things there are going to be errors. That is not necessarily a research approach, but it's a practical approach.

DR. TROIKE: Based on the studies that we've been looking at over the past year, the kind of information that we've been gathering, I would say that ESL should not be a part of any program at the elementary level, at least. And I would, in fact, urge that the Guidelines be modified to this effect...

One of the problems that does come up in language evaluation... (is caused by the fact that) many children from non-English-speaking backgrounds brought up in an English-speaking educational environment have never had the opportunity to develop literacy in their native language. Any tests that are based upon the concept of testing such children through reading and writing are quite inappropriate. This is especially true for many American Indian languages, some of which do not yet have well-developed writing traditions...

The identification of children raises special problems. HEW released a study a while back which showed that if children are identified and labeled as anything, this is going to affect teacher behavior toward them...

We need to look beyond just whether there is a language dominance of a non-English variety versus English dominance, and focus instead on what is the content of that English capability. And this is where formal kinds of grammatical testing, testing that just looks at grammatical features, are not going to be adequate...

People in the field have not really, to date, recognized the extent of the lack of research. There has been an assumption that it is there, and we only need to pull it together to use it. But there simply has not been research done (on many of these issues). I think that people who are concerned with bilingual education in any aspect of the field need to create pressure and awareness for more research to be done.

PANEL VII: Synopsis of Floor Discussion

The appropriateness vs. inappropriateness of ESL as a program component at the elementary level was discussed with proponents on both sides of the question.

PANEL VIII: Introductory Statement

Panel VIII addressed topic "8" (see page 4). The Principal Investigators were Mr. Herbert Teitelbaum and Mr. Richard J. Hiller. Their jointly authored paper was entitled "Trends in Bilingual Education and the Law." Serving as Discussants were Mr. Sanford Rosen, Legal Director of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, and Mr. Kelly Frels, Staff Attorney with Bracewell and Patterson of Houston, Texas. The panel was presided over by Ms. María Ramirez, member of the Lau Project Advisory Board. Mr. Teitelbaum and Mr. Hiller's paper is reproduced on the following pages.

TRENDS IN BILINGUAL EDUCATION AND THE LAW

Herbert Teitelbaum
Richard J. Hiller

New York City

Bilingual education, which should be voluntarily introduced into schools but often is not, can be required of a school district through either state legislation, federal legislation and regulations, or judicial decree. This paper focuses on the latter two devices, and in particular two recent events which have done much to help muddy already muddy waters surrounding the obligations of school districts towards language minority students: The 1975 "Lau Remedies" and the case of Otero v. Mesa County School District No. 51.[1]

An Overview of the Case Law

Although court ordered bilingual programs predate Lau v. Nichols,[2] that case represents the most important judicial bench mark for those who advocate bilingual education as a means toward achieving equality in education for language minority children. The United States Supreme Court unanimously determined in Lau that federally funded school districts must affirmatively provide to national origin minority students with English language disabilities, services which will secure for them equal access to the instructional program.[3] As is its practice, the High Court avoided prescribing a particular remedy and, as in all educational rights lawsuits, sent the case back to the lower court to forge appropriate relief. In Brown v. Board of Education[4] busing was not ordered, nor racial ratios fixed, nor compensatory programs devised, nor school discipline codes revised. At least in the first instance, these are chores for trial judges.

---

[1] Civ. No. 74-W-279 (D. Colo. December 31, 1975).

[2] 414 U.S. 563 (1974).

[3] The Lau decision was premised on Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, 42 U.S.C. S2000d, and its regulations and guidelines, one of which, commonly referred to as the May 25, 1970 Memorandum, requires that: "Where inability to speak and understand the English language excludes national origin-minority group children from effective participation in the educational program offered by a school district, the district must take affirmative steps to rectify the language deficiency in order to open its instructional program to these students." 35 Fed. Reg. 11595. In August 1974 Congress enacted the Equal Educational Opportunity Act of 1974 which contains a provision (20 U.S.C. S1703(f)) which codifies into federal legislation the Supreme Court's holding in Lau, and the May 25, 1970 Memorandum. The section states: "No state shall deny equal educational opportunity to an individual on account of his or her race, color, sex, or national origin, by-(f) the failure by an educational agency to take appropriate action to overcome language barriers that impede equal participation by its students in its instructional programs." Unlike 42 U.S.C. S2000d and its regulations and guidelines, the proscription of 20 U.S.C. S1703 applies to all school districts regardless of their receipt of federal assistance.

Accordingly, the Supreme Court in Lau did not mandate bilingual education. Nevertheless, there is a developing judicial trend, beginning several years prior to Lau, which points to bilingual education as the appropriate remedy. For example, in desegregation cases involving so-called tri-ethnic communities, bilingual programs of one sort or another were ordered to compensate for the effects of past discrimination. In 1971 in United States v. Texas,[5] a federal district court mandated a comprehensive bilingual program for the San Felipe Del Rio Consolidated Independent School District affecting curriculum, staffing, student assignment, classroom organization, community involvement, special education, funding, and evaluation. Implementation, however, was tied to the availability of adequate federal grants.

Other pre-Lau cases, most notably from Texas (e.g., Arvizu v. Waco Independent School District;[6] United States v. Texas[7] (Austin) contained remedial orders mandating bilingual education to secure an equal educational opportunity for language minority youngsters.

---

[4] 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

[5] 342 F. Supp. 24, 27-38 (E.D. Tex. 1971), aff'd per curium, 466 F. 2d 518 (5th Cir. 1972).

[6] 373 F. Supp. 1264 (W.D. Tex. 1973), aff'd in part, rev'd as to other issues, 495 F. 2d 499 (5th Cir. 1974).

[7] Civ. No. 73-3301 (W.D. Tex. 8/1/73).

Since Lau, the introduction or strengthening of bilingual education programs in school districts under court jurisdiction has continued. Serna v. Portales Municipal Schools[8] required such programs as the fulfillment of the federal rights of Chicano children living in Portales, New Mexico, and Aspira of New York v. Board of Education of the City of New York,[9] ordered bilingual education, with the consent of the defendents, to meet the educational needs of Puerto Rican and other Hispanic school children in that metropolis. Morgan v. Kerrigan[10] and Bradley v. Milliken,[11] the latter a desegregation case in Detroit and the former in Boston, both required bilingual instruction as component parts of the overall desegregation plans ordered for schools in those cities. In Morgan, Judge Garrity's bilingual education mandate derived not only from the Massachusetts Transitional Bilingual Education Act, but from Lau as well, and extended bilingual programs to kindergarten and vocational education classes. Most recently, in Evans v. Buchanan,[12] the Court in adopting a metropolitan desegregation plan affecting Wilmington, Delaware and the surrounding suburban school districts, prohibited the reduction of existing bilingual programs and cautioned responsible educational officials to comply with federal requirements relating to language minorities.

---

[8] 499 F. 2d 1147 (10th Cir. 1974).

[9] 72 Civ. 4002 (S.D.N.Y. August 29, 1974); also, 57 F.R.D. 62 (S.D.N.Y. 1973); 65 F.R.D. 541 (S.D.N.Y. 1975); 394 F. Supp. 1161 (S.D.N.Y. 1975).

[10] 401 F. Supp. 216, 242 (D. Mass. 1975), aff'd 523 F. 2d 917 (1st Cir. 1975).

[11] 402 F. Supp. 1096, 1144 (E.D. Mich. 1975).

[12] Civ. Nos. 1816-1822 (D. Del. May 19, 1976).

Although in Keyes v. Denver School District, No. 1,[13] the Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals reversed portions of the lower court's desegregation order dealing with Chicano children (the Cardenas plan), it sent the case back to the trial judge for a determination as to whether the Lau rights of the Denver students were being met. The plan rejected by the Tenth Circuit clearly was the most far-reaching and comprehensive ever proposed, going well beyond merely bilingual education even as defined by the Colorado legislature in its recent Bilingual Education Act. And, despite the Tenth Circuit's ruling that rectifying linguistic, cultural and other incompatabilities between students and schools is not required by the Fourteenth Amendment, and that bilingual education cannot be a substitute for desegregation, it did not overrule or limit its pronouncements in the Serna case, which it also decided, or limit the authority of the district court upon the remand of the case to mandate bilingual programs for students with English language problems.

Looking at the past five years of litigation, then, courts have more and more relied on bilingual education as a remedy. Indeed, even the words of limitation found in San Antonio Independent School v. Rodriguez,[14] have not stopped courts in ordering bilingual programs once a violation of federal law is established.

---

[13] 521 F. 2d 465 (10th Cir. 1975), cert. denied, _____U.S. _____, 46 L.Ed 2d 657 (1976). That the Supreme Court declined to review the Tenth Circuit decision in Keyes cannot be construed as approval or adoption of the lower court's decision. The decision not to review a case may be based upon many factors not the least of which is the congestion of the Supreme Court's docket.

[14] 411 U.S. 1 (1973). The Supreme Court in Rodriguez said, among other things, that developing educational policy does not fall within a court's expertise. But see, Morales v. Shannon, 516 F. 2d 411, 414-415 (5th Cir. 1975).

The Otero Case

Much controversy is now stirring among educators and lawyers over a recent decision entitled Otero v. Mesa County Valley School District, handed down December 31, 1975 by a Colorado federal district court. For some, Otero represents a breach in a consistently well constructed judicial mandate for bilingual education. Admittedly, the decision should be viewed by proponents of bilingual education as a disruption of the momentum developed by other courts during the 1970's. In that sense, Otero is an aberration and should not be construed as a death knell to court ordered bilingual education.

Apart from the need to place Otero against the backdrop of the past five years of the successes achieved in bilingual education litigation, it is crucial to point out that the opinion, itself, does not modify the principles established in prior cases. Lau v. Nichols, Serna v. Portales, United States v. Texas, Aspira, and Morgan are alive and well and still governing school boards. Once passed the frequent, gratuitous, and injudicious comments regarding plaintiffs' counsel and expert witnesses, anyone reading the decision should realize that the Otero court neither made new law, nor narrowly interpreted prior law. Judge Winner only found that plaintiffs did not produce the necessary facts to establish a violation of their educational rights as defined in Lau and Serna, two cases by which he was bound.

The Otero plaintiffs, ten Chicano children each suing through an adult parent or guardian, were either enrolled or had dropped out of school. They claimed that their rights under Title VI and the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States were being violated because the school district did not "take into account their linguistic and cultural differences," and as a result the students were "provide[d] an inadequate or unequal" education. Before Otero was decided, the Tenth Circuit in Keyes rejected the Cardenas Plan.

Relying heavily on the language in Keyes that the Constitution does not require a school district to "adapt to the cultural and economic needs of minority students," the Otero court predictably found that courts in the Tenth Circuit were not constitutionally mandated to resolve the cultural incompatabilities between the Chicano child and the school by the introduction of a comprehensive bilingual program.

The application of Lau and Serna was the only theory available to the Mesa County plaintiff school children, since these decisions were not based on the Constitution but solely on Title VI. However, Judge Winner gutted that aspect of plaintiffs' case by ruling that they did not prove there were sufficient students (even perhaps, any students), in the district with English language deficiency to trigger Lau rights. Choosing to find the defendant school district's experts more persuasive, the court placed virtually no value on a survey presented by plaintiffs through which they attempted to satisfy the Serna standard of demonstrating a sufficiently numerous class of students with English language difficulties.[15] Socio-economic deprivation, and not language, the Otero court reasoned was the barrier to full enjoyment of the educational benefits offered by the school district. Simply put, the court determined there were no children in the school district who had English language deficiencies for purposes of setting in motion the mandate of Lau.

As with all litigation, the discretion of the Otero trial court in making factual findings was broad. Although idle speculation as to whether the Otero outcome would have been different before another judge adds nothing to one's understanding of the opinion, it does help put the case in perspective. Judges obviously differ from one another, and differ most in their interpretation of facts. What is unfortunate in Otero is not the court's view of the law, but its interpretation of the facts regarding language disabilities among the plaintiffs. For this reason, Otero is of little precedential value, since factual findings are binding on other courts in but a few instances.

---

[15] Although the Supreme Court's opinion in Lau did not raise any requirement as to numbers of eligible children necessary to create rights to special programs, Mr. Justice Blackmun's concurring opinion did, and the Tenth Circuit in Serna chose to adopt Mr. Justice Blackmun's caveat.

The Lau Remedies: Background

In the summer of 1975 the U. S. Office of Education and the Office for Civil Rights jointly issued to the heads of state educational agencies the findings of its national task force, made up of educators predominantly.[16] The findings, among other things, outlined the educational approaches found to be appropriate "affirmative steps" designed to "open the instructional program" to non-English dominant students.

Where Lau violations have been determined to exist in school systems receiving federal financial assistance, the school districts are required to develop compliance plans consistent with the "Lau Remedies" or demonstrate affirmatively that alternative plans will be "equally effective in ensuring equal educational opportunity."[17]

---

[16] The "Lau Remedies" actually bear the following title: HEW Memorandum on "Evaluation of Voluntary Compliance Plans designed to eliminate educational practices which deny non-English dominant students equal educational opportunity," Summer 1975.

[17] "Conceivably, other methods of achieving the goals set by the "Lau Remedies" may exist, but the Office for Civil Rights will accept an alternative approach only if there is a reasonable basis to believe that it is at least as effective as the guidance set in the "Lau Remedies." Letter from Lloyd R. Henderson, Director, Elementary and Secondary Education Division, Office for Civil Rights, to Rosa Castro Feinberg, Lau General Assistance Center (B), School of Education, University of Miami, dated March 15, 1976.

Clearly, these "Lau Remedies," which have received the approval of the Secretary of HEW, are similar in purpose to the May 25, 1970 Memorandum upheld in Lau v. Nichols, and as such, minimally are entitled to great weight as an agency interpretation. An intransigent school board intent on resisting the "Lau Remedies" as beyond the scope of HEW's powers, ultimately should meet the same fate as the San Francisco School Board in Lau.

Preliminary Considerations

The "Lau Remedies" are applicable to school districts that are found to be in non-compliance with the provisions of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the HEW regulations promulgated pursuant thereto (45 C.F.R. Part 80), and the May 25, 1970 Memorandum interpreting these regulations.[18] But, on what basis is a school district determined to be in non-compliance? Must the strictures of the "Lau Remedies" be adhered to if a school district is to avoid committing Lau violations? Are the "Lau Remedies" to be given any weight at all in determining non-compliance? Expressed otherwise, if the "Lau Remedies" are the remedial standards against which to measure the appropriateness of an educational plan designed to eliminate past practices found unlawful, what is the standard of liability to be applied in determining whether past or existing educational practices are unlawful? These critical questions are as yet unanswered, but the Lau decision, itself, and OCR compliance reviews, past and ongoing, provide some guidance.

We know from Lau that school districts violate Title VI if they fail to take affirmative steps to rectify the English language deficiencies of their national origin minority group children so as to open the instructional program to them. Lau also teaches that districts which offer its non-English speaking students the same course of instruction provided to its English speaking students, violate Title VI. Likewise, it should be apparent, that merely offering the standard fare remedial programs, designed for and provided to underachieving English speaking students, can scarcely constitute the "affirmative steps" contemplated by the May 25, 1970 Memorandum.

---

[18] Supra, n.3. Although OCR's initial enforcement efforts are focused on the 333 Lau districts, identified in January 1975, the scope of the "Lau Remedies" extends beyond these districts. Designation as a Lau district did not signify, at least from OCR's perspective, a determination of non-compliance, but was based upon data indicating a probability of violations.

But, what of ESL? Would providing ESL alone to all students with English language deficiencies enable a school district to escape a finding of non-compliance, and, thus, avoid the "Lau Remedies" altogether? The "Lau Remedies" find ESL, alone, an inappropriate program for elementary school students and monolingual, non-English speaking, intermediate level students. It would seem, then, that giving these same students only ESL would also constitute inadequate "affirmative steps," and thus, violate Title VI.

In determining whether Title VI violations exist where only ESL is offered, local school districts may be allowed the opportunity to affirmatively show that ESL has proven effective in opening the instructional system to students with linguistic deficiencies. This should present for them formidable problems[19] since the burden of proof should be theirs.

In assessing the merits and effectiveness of ESL, or other alternative approaches advanced by local school authorities, OCR in all probability will adopt the same standards as used in its past compliance reviews. That is, it will analyze relevant indicia such as student achievement data; retention, and drop out rates; promotion and graduation statistics; and ability grouping and tracking. Moreover, OCR can be expected to evaluate the language assessment procedures utilized; the curriculum; staff development; and evaluation systems used. Private individuals seeking to establish a claim under Title VI will be relying on the same indicia.

---

[19] For example, the New York City public schools (now operating under the mandate of a Consent Decree requiring bilingual education) would have been hard pressed to demonstrate that ESL, alone, given since 1954, is adequate in the face of data substantiating the disproportionately high dropout and retention rates, and disproportionately low achievement scores and graduation rates of its Hispanic students.

The Force and Effect of the "Lau Remedies"

Whether viewed and applied as a remedial standard or a standard of liability, or both, it is assumed, of course, that the "Lau Remedies" are valid and enforceable. Undoubtedly, some recalcitrant school officials will challenge such an assumption. The rationale given by at least one school district, the Seattle public schools, for defying the "Lau Remedies" is that failing to publish them in the Federal Register, renders the "Lau Remedies" without the "force of law."[20]

While it is true that statements of general policy, or interpretations of general applicability, formulated or adopted by a federal agency must be published in the Federal Register,[21] local school districts which have actual notice of the "Lau Remedies," are not immunized from sanctions flowing from violations, even if the "Lau Remedies" remain unpublished.[22]

---

[20] Letter from Peter E. Holmes, Director of OCR to Dr. J. Loren Torxel, Superintendent, Seattle Public Schools, November 24, 1975. The "force of law" generally connotes that which has the force and effect of a statute, creating legally binding rights and obligations.

[21] 5 U.S.C. S552 (a) (1) (D)("The Administrative Procedure Act"). See also, 42 U.S.C. S1508 ("The Federal Register Act") which enumerates categories of documents required to be published in the Federal Register.

[22] 5 U.S.C. S552 (a) (1) (E). See, Rodriguez v. Swank, 318 F. Supp. 289, 295 (N.D. Ill. 1970) aff'd 403 U.S. 901 (1971) (welfare case); Kessler v. F.C.C. 326 F. 2d 673, 690 (D.C. Cir. 1963); U.S. v. Aarons, 310 F. 2d 341 (2d Cir. 1962).

Considering that the "Lau Remedies" have been widely disseminated, it is difficult to imagine that an offending school official will be able to assert successfully lack of actual notice. The courts have consistently refused to follow blindly the requirement of publication in the Federal Register in circumstances when to do so would amount to a wooden application of the rule.[23]

One may be permitted to wonder why the "Lau Remedies" have yet to be published in the Federal Register. The May 25, 1970 Memorandum at issue in Lau was published with dispatch in July 1970. Neither OCR nor the U.S. Office of Education has offered any reason why publication has not been effected, except to represent, when pressed, that publication is imminent. Recent pronouncements by OCR (March 15, 1976), indicate that the "'Lau Remedies will appear shortly in the Federal Register."[24]

OCR has stated that it is "not using the 'Lau Remedies' as a regulation with the force of law," but that the "Lau Remedies" are "entitled to weight as an agency interpretation" and are to be considered "guidance having a uniform purpose as the May 25 Memorandum."[25] Whether labeled a guideline, or an agency interpretation entitled to great weight, or a regulation having the force of law, it is pristine clear that school districts are not free to disregard them.

---

[23] Thorpe v. Housing Authority of Durham, 393 U.S. 268, 276 (1969) (upholding a HUD Circular not published in the Federal Register requiring notice to tenants residing in federally assisted housing projects prior to their eviction); Like v. Carter, 448 F. 2d 798, 803-804 (8th Cir. 1971) (rejecting arguments that the HEW Handbook of Public Assistance Administration did not have the force and effect of law because it was not published in the Federal Register); Andrews v. Knowlton, 509 F. 2d 898, 905 (2d Cir. 1975) (suggesting that distribution of a federal agency policy under the auspices of that agency may be sufficient in lieu of publication in the Federal Register).

[24] Letter from Henderson to Feinberg, supra, n. 17.

[25] Id.

There is ample reason to believe that the courts will rely heavily on the standards set forth in the "Lau Remedies." The Lau decision must be read not only as upholding the May 25, 1970 Memorandum, but as reaffirming the authority of HEW to issue and enforce reasonable interpretative guidelines consistent with the mandate of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act prohibiting national origin discrimination in federally assisted schools. The unanimous ruling in Lau firmly buttresses HEW's authority to "fix the terms on which [the Federal Government's] money allotments to the states shall be disbursed." And, Justice Stewart, in his concurring opinion remarked that, "the Department has reasonably and consistently interpreted paragraph 601 [Title VI] to require affirmative remedial efforts to give special attention to linguistically deprived children."

School districts will have difficulty convincing the courts that the "Lau Remedies" are unreasonable or inconsistent with Title VI. Programmatic options are presented, bilingual education is not, strictly speaking, mandated "as the only possible approach to compliance,"[26] and alternative educational programs are to be considered and accepted if shown to be equally effective. If viewed as a federal agency interpretation, the "Lau Remedies" will not be upset unless they are found to be plainly erroneous.

In the past, in the context of school desegregation cases, courts relied heavily on analogous HEW standards in formulating relief. HEW's Office of Education first issued desegregation guidelines in April 1965, which "fixed the minimum standards to be used in determining the qualifications for schools applying for federal financial aid."[27] School districts were given several choices for satisfying Title VI requirements. The courts consistently attached great weight to these guidelines.

---

[26] Letter from Holmes to Troxel, supra, n. 20.

In 1966, and again in 1968, HEW issued revised guidelines relating to school desegregation, and again courts accorded them "serious judicial deference, respectful consideration, and great weight,"[28] albeit refusing to abdicate their constitutional responsibilities to HEW entirely.

CONCLUSION

Bilingual-bicultural education is a relatively new phenomenon to both courts and legislatures. Creating new legal rights and duties predictably also will create uncertainties. Despite Otero and the April 8th Henderson memorandum, a clear trend has been established obligating school authorities to adopt bilingual programs as a means to secure for language minority school children an equal educational opportunity.

---

[27] Singleton v. Jackson Municipal Separate School District, 348 F. 2d 729, 730, n.6 (5th Cir. 1965).

[28] United States v. Jefferson County Board of Education, 380 F. 2d 385, 390 (5th Cir.) (en banc), cert. denied sub. nom. Caddo Parish School Board v. United States, 380 U.S. 840 (1967). See also, Kemp v. Beasley, 389 F. 2d 178, 185 (8th Cir. 1968); Whittenberg v. Greenville County School District, 298 F. Supp. 784 (S.C.D.C. 1969).

PANEL VIII: Excerpts from Discussants' Remarks

MR. ROSEN: The major point to which I would add a little more emphasis is the fact that when you deal with a subject such as bilingual education, I think you delude yourselves if you attempt to treat it as a non-political issue or a non-legal issue...

There is a very close analogy between (the legal and political aspects of bilingual education) and Brown vs. the Board of Education in 1954, known as Brown I, and Brown vs. the Board of Education in 1955, known as Brown II, and its progeny. At best we've reached Brown I with respect to bilingual education. We've found out in the context of the Lau case that there is a violation of law, not Constitutional violation...

It is very important that (advances in the legitimization of bilingual education) not occur by just mere chance. A good deal of focus has to be on the possibility of additional action within the Congress... A great deal more attention must be given to (lobbying) in the legislative bodies of the states... Additionally, however, we must not forget the courts. We can't stop going to the courts to attempt to implement bilingual education, though we must take more care in selecting those cases through which we attempt to bring these issues to judicial fruition... One other forum cannot be ignored -- that of the school board itself.

MR. FRELS: I do not feel that lawyers should make policy decisions for school boards...

The law doesn't require bilingual programs for (English-language deficient school children). It requires programs which will remedy those deficiencies so that the student will be able to meaningfully participate in educational programs of the district.

...Too many times I think that lawyers, particularly civil rights lawyers, plaintiff's lawyers, tend to forget that there is a first step of identifying the students who have these language deficiencies to the extent that they are unable to speak or to understand English so that they can meaningfully participate in the educational program. Too many times we go to the second step of the remedy...

The problem in providing (bilingual programs for a very few children) is that the remedy will probably involve transporting those students to some other part of the district where you can concentrate students in sufficient numbers to be economical. School districts must be careful in doing this so that in concentrating national origin groups in schools they cannot be later accused of racial or ethnic discrimination...

Another problem is that bilingual teachers, in being mostly from the same national origin group as the students whom they will teach (can be the cause of still further ethnic concentration)...

I agree that the major focus in bilingual education will change from the courtroom to the statehouse and local school district. (Its success there will depend on) whether educators are able to produce validated studies to show that students (actually need special programs and what those programs should be).

PANEL VIII: Synopsis of Floor Discussion

The issue of whether the Lau principle might be extended to cover speakers of non-standard English dialects was discussed without complete resolution.

Participants agreed that there was need not only for assessment instruments development, but also for case study research to substantiate the benefits of comprehensive bilingual/bicultural programs such as that advocated by the Cardenas Plan.

The issue of racial concentration raised by Mr. Frels did not seem to pose an insurmountable problem.

SUMMARY OF CONFERENCE POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS: DO'S AND DON'TS

Do's

It was often pointed out that meaningful community involvement was critical to the success of any bilingual program (Torres, Elm, Gallo). The community must be informed about the program alternatives available to their children, and they must participate in the articulation of the philosophy upon which the bilingual program (e.g., transitional vs. maintenance) will be based.

The community as an information resource regarding the minority culture must also be involved in the inservice training of bilingual/bicultural staff (Cazden, Perez). More minority teachers, not paraprofessionals, must be hired because of their basic qualification of cultural compatibility (Cazden, Chavez). Such compatibility is not only beneficial to the educational (Laosa) and emotional (Escobedo) development of minority students, but also an efficient means to the inservice bicultural education of non-minority colleagues. Teacher training institutions must expand and legitimize their bilingual/bicultural programs (Perez, Taylor).

Teachers should adapt to the interactional styles of their students (Cazden, Laosa). They should create alternative participant structures as part of a continuous "ethnographic monitoring." They should also utilize multisensory instructional modes -- adapt the classroom environment to the student, not vice versa.

Professionals in education should make a greater effort to keep informed about each other's activities, particularly in curriculum development (Cazden, Chavez, Young). Practitioners must articulate their needs to the research community (Cervantes).

Don'ts

Minority cultures are not homogeneous any more than the dominant culture is. Therefore, bilingual/bicultural programs need to be designed for or adapted to local needs. Mass produced materials are at best culturally meaningless (Cazden, Elm). No single instructional strategy can be best for every classroom (Laosa, Ramirez).

In attempting to implement culturally responsive programs avoid excessive examination of the child. It is the classroom environment that needs to be analyzed and altered (Cazden).

The Field Sensitive/Field Independent construct is still too under-researched to be used as a model for program design (Cazden, Ramirez).

ESL should be avoided at the elementary level. There are sound reasons for considering it a very ineffective and potentially harmful instructional methodology (De Avila, Milan, Troike).

SUMMARY OF RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT NEEDS

Research

Language dominance and language proficiency are concepts which require detailed sociolinguistic analysis and description (De Avila, Milan, Troike). Such description would provide valuable insight into the phenomenon of second language acquisition by minority language school children.

Cross-cultural psychology lacks adequate and consistent models for the description of culturally-based learning behaviors (Cervantes).

There is need for longitudinal studies of alternative bilingual models based on different learning and instructional theories (Cazden, Escobedo, Young).

There is need for detailed ethnographic research into the sociocultural determinants of school children's behaviors (Laosa).

Case studies of successful bicultural inservice training programs are needed (Cazden).

Development

Bilingual curriculum materials are sorely needed, particularly for transitional and maintenance programs (Chavez, Young).

Reciprocal Bilingual Program models should be developed and tested (Young).

Competent language assessment instruments based on sound sociolinguistic theory are needed (De Avila, Frels, Troike).

General

Portions of the Lau Remedies should be clarified in wording and intent (Lum, González).

The body of judicial precedents for mandated bilingual programs should be increased through suitable test cases (Teitelbaum and Hiller). Organized lobbying for the cause of bilingual/bicultural education should be pursued at the statehouse and school board.